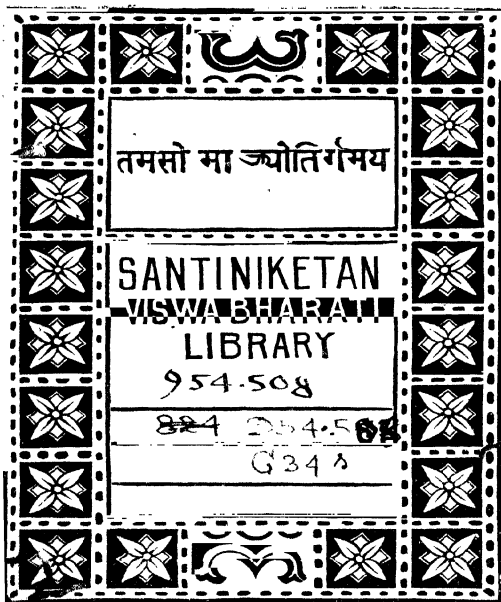

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AUROBINDO GHOSE.

# SPEECHES OF
## AUROBINDO GHOSE

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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## PART I.



## PART II.



## APPENDIX.

# ADVICE TO NATIONAL COLLEGE STUDENTS.



[ *On the 22nd August 1907, before the students and teachers of the Bengal National College, in meeting assembled to record their deep regret at his resignation of the high office of Principalship of the College, at the request of his beloved pupils to hear from him a few words of advice Sj. Aurobindo Ghosh delivered the following address.* ]

I have been told that you wish me to speak a few words of advice to you. But in these days I feel that young-men can very often give better advice than we older people can give. Nor must you ask me to express the feelings which your actions, the way in which you have shown your affection towards me, have given rise to in my breast. It is impossible to express them. You all know that I have resigned my post. In the meeting you held yesterday I see that you expressed sympathy with me in what you call my present troubles. I don't know whether I should call them troubles at all, for the experience that I am going to undergo was long foreseen as inevitable in the discharge of the mission that I have taken up from my childhood, and I am approaching it without regret. What I want to be assured of is not so

much that you feel sympathy for me in my troubles but that you have sympathy for the cause, in serving which I have to undergo what you call my troubles. If I know that the rising generation have taken up this cause, that wherever I go, I go leaving behind others to carry on my work, I shall go without the least regret. I take it that whatever respect you have shown to me to-day was shown not to me, not merely even to the Principal, but your country, to the mother in me, because what little I have done has been done for her, and the slight suffering that I am going to endure will be endured for her sake. Taking your sympathy in that light I can feel that if I am incapacitated from carrying on my work, there will be so many others left behind me. One other cause of rejoicing for me is to find that practically all my

countrymen have the same fellow-feeling for me and for the same reason as yourselves. The unanimity with which all classes have expressed their sympathy for me and even offered help at the moment of my trial, is a cause for rejoicing, and for the same reason.—For I am nothing, what I have done is nothing. I have earned this fellow-feeling because of serving the cause which all my countrymen have at heart.

The only piece of advice that I can give you now is—carry on the work, the mission, for which this college was created. I have no doubt that all of you have realised by this time what this mission means. When we established this college, and left other occupations, other chances of life, to devote our lives to this institution, we did so because we hoped to see in it the foundation, the

nucleus, of a nation, of the new India which is to begin its career after this night of sorrow and trouble, on that day of glory and greatness when India will work for the world. What we want here is not merely to give you a little information, not merely to open to you careers for earning a livelihood, but to build up sons for the motherland to work and to suffer for her. That is why we started this college and that is the work to which I want you to devote yourselves in future. What has been insufficiently and imperfectly begun by us, it is for you to complete and lead to perfection. When I come back I wish to see some of you becoming rich, rich not for yourselves but that you may enrich the mother with your riches. I wish to see some of you becoming great, great not for your own sakes, not that you

# THE PRESENT SITUATION.

[*A lecture delivered under the auspieces of the Bombay National Union by Srijut Aurobindo Ghose to a large gathering at Mahajan Wadi Bombay on Sunday the 19th January 1908.*]

My fellow countrymen, Mr. Ranade has said that there is no President here, but that God Himself is our President. I accept that remark in the most reverent spirit, and before addressing you, I ask Him first to inspire me. I have been asked to speak on the "Needs of the present situation." What is the present situation? What is the situation of this country to-day? Just as I was

coming in, this paper (showing the copy of the 'Bande Mataram' newspaper) was put into my hands, and looking at the first page of it, I saw two items of news, "The 'Yugantar' Trial, Judgement delivered, the Printer convicted and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment." The other is "Another Newspaper Prosecution. The 'Navasakti' Office sacked and searched. Printer let out on a bail of Rs. 1,000." This is the situation of the country to-day. Do you realise what I mean? There is a creed in India to-day which calls itself Nationalism, a creed which has come to you from Bengal. This is a creed which many of you have accepted when you called yourselves Nationalists. Have you realised, have you yet realised what that means? Have you realised what it is that you have taken in hand? Or is

it that you have merely accepted it in the pride of a superior intellectual conviction? You call yourselves Nationalists. What is Nationalism? Nationalism is not a mere political programme. Nationalism is a religion that has come from God; Nationalism is a creed in which you shall have to live. Let no man dare to call himself a Nationalist if he does so merely with a sort of intellectual pride, thinking that he is more patriotic, thinking that he is something higher than those who do not call themselves by that name. If you are going to be a Nationalist, if you are going to assent to this religion of Nationalism you must do it in the religious spirit. You must remember that you are the instruments of God. What is this that has happened in Bengal? You call yourselves Nationalists, but when this

happens to you, what will you do? This thing is happening daily in Bengal, because, in Bengal, Nationalism has come to the people as a religion, and it has been accepted as a religion. But certain forces which are against that religion are trying to crush its rising strength. It always happens when a new religion is preached, when God is going to be born in the people, that such forces rise with all their weapons in their hands to crush the religion. In Bengal too a new religion, a religion, divine and "*sattwic*" has been preached, and this religion they are trying with all the weapons at their command to crush. By what strength are we in Bengal able to survive? Nationalism has not been crushed. Nationalism is not going to be crushed. Nationalism survives in the strength of God and it is not possible to

crush it, whatever weapons are brought against it. Nationalism is immortal ; Nationalism cannot die ; because it is no human thing, it is God who is working in Bengal. God cannot be killed, God cannot be sent to jail. When these things happen among you, I say to you solemnly, what will you do ? Will you do as they do in Bengal ; (Cries of Yes) Don't lightly say 'yes.' It is a solemn thing and suppose that God puts you this question. How will you answer it ? Have you got a real faith ? Or is it merely a political aspiration ? Is it merely a larger kind of selfishness ? Or is it merely that you wish to be free to oppress others, as you are being oppressed ? Do you hold your political creed from a higher source ? Is it God that is born in you ? Have you realised that you are merely the instruments of God, that your

bodies are not your own ? You are merely instruments of God for the work of the Almighty. Have you realised that ? If you have realised that, then you are truly Nationalists ; then alone will you be able to restore this great nation. In Bengal it has been realised clearly by some, more clearly by others, but it has been realised and you on this side of the country must also realise it. Then there will be a blessing on our work, and this great nation will rise again and become once more what it was in the days of its spiritual greatness. You are the instruments of God to save the light, to save the spirit of India from lasting obscuration and abasement. Let me tell you what it is that has happened in Bengal. You all know what Bengal used to be ; you all know that 'Bengali' used to be a term of reproach among

the nations ; when people spoke of Bengal with what feelings did they speak of it ? Was it with feelings of respect ? ·Was it with feelings of admiration ? You know very well what people of other countries used to say of the Bengali. You know well what you yourselves used to say of the Bengali. Do you think that now ? If any body had told you that Bengal would come forward as the saviour of India, how many of you would have believed it ? You would have said "No. The saviour of India cannot be Bengal ; it may be Maharashtra; it may be the Punjab; but it will not be Bengal; the idea is absurd." What has happened then ? What has caused this change ? What has made the Bengali so different from his own self ? One thing has happenend in Bengal, and it is this; that Bengal is

learning to believe. Bengal was once drunk with the wine of European Civilisation, and with the purely intellectual teaching that it received from the West. It began to see all things, to judge all things through the imperfect instrumentality of the intellect. When it was so, Bengal became atheistic, it became a land of doubters and cynics. But still in Bengal there was an element of strength. Whatever the Bengali believed, if he believed at all—many do not believe—but if they believed at all, there was one thing about the Bengali that he lived what he believed. If he was a Bramho, or if he was a Social Reformer, no matter whether what he believed was true or not ; but if he believed, he lived that belief. If he believed that one thing was necessary for the salvation of the country, if he believed that a thing was true and that

it should be done, he did not stop to think about it. From all intellectual standpoints he would not stop to consider whether the truth in it was merely an ideal and to balance whether he would do honestly what he believed or whether he could hold the belief intellectually without living it, but without regard to consequences to himself, he went and did what he believed. And if he was not a Brahmo, if he was an orthodox Hindu, still if he really believed what the Hindu *Shastras* taught them he never hesitated to drive even his dearest away, rather than aid in his weakness in corrupting society. He never hesitated to enforce what he believed to the uttermost without thinking of the consequences to himself. Well, what was the one saving element in the Bengali nation? The Bengali has the

faculty of belief. Belief is not a merely intellectual process, belief is not a mere persuasion of the mind, belief is something that is in our heart, and what you believe, you must do, because belief is from God. It is to the heart that God speaks, it is in the heart that God resides. This saved the Bengali. Because of this capacity of belief, we were chosen as the people who were to save India, the people who were to stand foremost, the people who must suffer for their belief, the people who must meet everything in the faith that God was with them and that God is in them. Such a people need not be politically strong, it need not be a people sound in physique, it need not be a people of the highest intellectual standing. It must be a people who can believe. In Bengal there came a flood of religious truth. Certain men

were born, men whom the educated world would not have recognised if that belief, if that God within them had not been there to open their eyes, men whose lives were very different from that our education, our western education, taught us to admire. One of them, the man who had the greatest influence, and has done the most to regenerate Bengal, could not read and write a single word. He was a man who had been, what they call absolutely useless to the world. But he had this one divine faculty in him, that he had more than faith and had realised God. He was a man who lived, what many would call, the life of a mad man, a man without intellectual training, a man without any outward sign of culture or civilisation, a man who lived on the alms of others, such a man as the English educated

Indian would ordinarily talk of as one useless to society, though not a bane to society. He will say "This man is ignorant. What does he know? What can he teach me who have received from the West all that it can teach?" But God knew what he was doing. He sent that man to Bengal and set him in the temple of Dakhsineshwar in Calcutta, and from North and South, and East and West, the educated men, men who were the pride of the university, who had studied all what Europe can teach, came to fall at the feet of this ascetic. The work of salvation, the work of raising India was begun. Consider the men who are really leading the present movement. One thing I will ask you to observe and that is that there are very few who have not been influenced by the touch of the *Sadhu*. If you ask

who influenced Babu Bipin Chandra Pal, it was a *Sadhu.* Among other men who lead in Bengal, is the man who started this paper which is being prosecuted. You may not know his name here, but he is well-known throughout Bengal, and he had done much to forward this movement; he is a man who has lived the life of a *Sadhu*, and taken his inspiration and strength from that only source from which inspiration and strength can come. I spoke to you the other day about National Education, and I spoke of a man who had given his life to that work, the man who really organised the National College in Calcutta, and that man also is a disciple of a *Sanyasin*, that man also though he lives in the world lives like a *Sanyasin*, and if you take the young workers in Bengal, men that have come forward to do the work

of God what will you find? What is their strength? What is the strength which enables them to bear all the obstacles that come in their way and to resist all the oppression that threatens them? Let me speak a word to you about that. There is a certain section of thought in India which regards Nationalism as "madness". The men who think like that are men of great intellectual ability, men who have studied deeply, who have studied economics, who have studied history, men who are entitled to respect, men from whom you would naturally accept leading and guidance and they say that Nationalism will ruin the country. What is it that makes them talk like this? Many of them are patriots, many of them are thoroughly sincere and honest, many of them desire the good of the country. What is it

that is wanting in them? This is wanting. They are men who have lived in the pure intellect only and they look at things purely from the intellectual stand-point. What does the intellect think? What must it tell you if you consult the intellect merely? Here is a work that you have undertaken, a work so gigantic, so stupendous, the means for which are so poor, the resistance to which will be so strong, so organised, so disciplined, so well-equipped with all the weapons that science can supply, with all the strength that human power and authority can give, and what means have you with which to carry out this tremendous work of yours? If you look at it intellectually, and these men look at it from the intellectual stand-point, it is hopeless. Here are these men who are being prosecuted. How are

they going to resist? They cannot resist. They have to go straight to jail. Well these gentlemen argue and they are arguing straight from the intellect, they ask "How long will you be able to resist like that? How long will this passive resistance work? All your leaders, all your strong men will be sent to jail, you will be crushed and not only will you be crushed, the nation will be completely crushed." If you argue from the intellect, this seems to be true. I cannot tell you of any material weapon with which you will meet those who are commissioned to resist your creed of Nationalism when you try to live it. If you ask what material weapons we have got, I must tell you that material weapons may help you no doubt but if you rely wholly upon material weapons, then what they say is perfectly true,

that Nationalism is a madness. Of course there is another side to it. If you say that Nationalism cannot avail, then again I ask the intellect of these people, what will avail? Intellectually speaking, speaking from the Moderate's standpoint, what will avail? What do they rely upon? They rely upon a foreign force in the country. If you do not rely upon God, if you do not rely upon something mightier than material strength, then you will have to depend solely upon what others can give. There are men who think that what God connot give for the salvation of India, the British Government will give. What you cannot expect from God you are going to expect from the British Government. Your expectation is vain. Their interests are not yours, their interests are very different from yours, and

they will do what their interests tell them. You cannot expect anything else. What then does this intellectual process lead you to? This intellectual process, if it is used honestly, if it is followed to the very end, leads you to despair. It leads you to death. You have nothing which can help you, because you have no material strength at present which the adversary cannot crush and the adversary will certainly not be so foolish as to help you, or to allow you to develop the necessary strength unmolested. What then is the conclusion? The only conculusion is that there is nothing to be done. The only conclusion is that this country is doomed. That is the conclusion to which this intellectual process will lead you. I was speaking at Poona on this subject, and I told them of my experience in Bengal. When

I went to Bengal three or four years before the Swadeshi movement was born, to see what was the hope of revival, what was the political condition of the people, and whether there was the possibility of a real movement, what I found there was that the prevailing mood was apathy and despair. People had believed that regeneration could only come from outside, that another nation would take us by the hand and lift us up and that we have nothing to do for ourselves. Now that belief has been thoroughly broken. They had come to realise that help cannot come from this source, and then they had nothing to rely upon. Their intellect could not tell them of any other source from which help could come, and the result was that apathy and despair spread every where and most of the

workers who were really honest with themselves, were saying that there was no help for this nation and that we were doomed. Well, this state of despair was the best thing that could have happened for Bengal, for it meant that the intellect had done its best, that the intellect had done all that was possible for it, and that the work of the unaided intellect in Bengal was finished. The intellect, having nothing to offer but despair, became quiescent and when the intellect ceased to work, the heart of Bengal was open and ready to receive the voice of God whenever He should speak. When the message came at last, Bengal was ready to receive it and she received it in a single moment and in a single moment the whole nation rose, the whole nation lifted itself out of delusions and out of despair, and and it was

by this sudden rising, by this sudden awakening from dream that Bengal found the way of salvation and declared to all India that eternal life, immortality and not lasting degradation was her fate. Bengal lived in that faith. She felt a mightier truth than any that earth can give, because she held that faith from God and was able to live in that faith. Then that happened which always happens when God brings other forces to fight against the strength which He Himself has inspired? Because it is always necessary for the Divinely appointed strength to grow by suffering; without suffering, without the lesson of selflessness, without the moral force of self-sacrifice God within us cannot grow. Sri Krishna cannot grow to manhood unless He is called upon to work for others, unless the *Asur*

forces of the world are about Him, and work against Him and make Him feel His strength. Therefore in Bengal there came a time, after the first outbreak of triumphant hope, when all the material forces that can be brought to bear against Nationalism were gradually brought into play, and the question was asked of Bengal "Can you suffer?" "Can you survive?" The youngmen of Bengal who had rushed forward in the frenzy of the moment, in the inspiration of the new gospel they had received, rushed forward rejoicing in the new-found strength and expecting to bear down all obstacles that came in their way, were now called upon to suffer. They were called upon to bear the crown, not of victory, but of martyrdom. They had to learn the real nature of their new strength. It was not their own strength,

but it was the force which was working through them, and they had to learn to be the instruments of that force. What is it that we have learned then ? What is the need of the situation of which I am to tell you to-day ? It is not a political programme. I have spoken to you about many things. I have written about many things, about Swadeshi, Boycott. National Education, Arbitration and other subjects. But there was one truth that I have always tried, and those who have worked with me have also tried, to lay down as the foundation stone of all that we preached. It is not by any mere political programme, not by National Education alone, not by Swadeshi alone, not by Boycott alone, that this country can be saved. Swadeshi by itself may merely lead to a little more material prosperity, and when it does, you might

lose sight of the real thing you sought to do in the glamour of wealth, in the attraction of wealth and in the desire to keep it safe. In other subject countries also, there was material development; under the Roman Empire, there was material development, there was industrial progress, but industrial progress and material development did not bring life to the Nation. When the hour of trial came, it was found that these nations which had been developing industrially, which had been developing materially, were not alive. No, they were dead and at a touch from outside they crumbled to pieces. So, do not think that it is any particular programme, or any particular method which is the need of the situation. These are merely ways of working; they are merely particular concrete lines upon which the spirit of

God is working in a Nation, but they are not in themselves the one thing needful. What is the one thing needful? What is it that has helped the older men who have gone to prison? What is it that has been their strength, that has enabled them to stand against all temptations and against all dangers and obstacles? The have had one and all of them consciously or unconsciously one over-mastering idea, one idea which nothing can share, and this was the idea that there is a great Power at work to help India, and that we are doing what it bids us. Often they do not understand what they are doing. They do not always realise who guides, or where he will guide them; but they have this conviction within, not the intellect but the heart, that the power that is guiding them is invincible, that it is almighty,

that it is immortal and irresistible and that it will do its work. They have nothing to do. They have simply to obey that Power. They have simply to go where it leads them. They have only to speak the words that it tells them to speak, and to do the thing that it tells them to do. If the finger points them to prison, to the prison they go. Whatever It bids them to endure, they gladly endure. They do not know how that enduring will help, and the worldly-wise people may tell them that it is impolitic that by doing this they will be wasting the strength of the country, they will be throwing the best workers away, they are not saving up the forces of the country. But we know that the forces of the country are other than outside forces. There is only one force, and for that force, I am not necessary, you

are not necessary, he is not necessary. Neither myself or another; nor Bipin Chandra Pal, nor all these workers who have gone to prison. None of them is necessary. Let them be thrown as so much waste substance, the country will not suffer. God is doing everything. We are not doing anything. When he bids us suffer, we suffer because the suffering is necessary to give others strength. When he throws us away, he does so because we are no longer required. If things become worse, we shall have not only to go to jail, but give up our lives and if those who seem to stand in front or to be absolutely indispensable are called upon to throw their bodies away, we shall then know that also is wanted, that this is a work God has asked us to do, and that in the place of those who are thrown away, God will

bring many more. He Himself is behind us. He Himself is the worker and the work. He is immortal in the hearts of His people. Faith then is what we have in Bengal. Some of us may not have it consciously ; some may not call it by that particular name. As I said we have developed intellectuality, we have developed it notably and we are still much dominated by it. Many have come to this belief through the longing to live for their countrymen, to suffer for their countrymen, because God is not only here in me, He is within all of you, it is God whom I love, it is God for whom I wish to suffer. In that way many have come to do what God bade them do and He knows which way to lead a man. When it is His will He will lead him aright.

Another thing which is only another

name for Faith is Self-lessness. This movement in Bengal, this movement of Nationalism is not guided by any self-interest, not at the heart of it. Whatever there may be in some minds, it is not, at the heart of it, a political self-interest that we are pursuing. It is a religion which we are trying to live. It is a religion by which we are trying to realise God in the nation, in our fellow-countrymen. We are trying to realise Him in the three hundred millions of our people. We are trying, some of us consciously, some of us unconsciously, we are trying to live not for our own interests, but to work and to die for others. When a young worker in Bengal has to go to jail, when he is asked to suffer, he does not feel any pang in that suffering, he does not fear suffering. He goes forward with joy. He says " The

hour of my consecration has come, and I have to thank God now that the time for laying myself on His altar has arrived and that I have been chosen to suffer for the good of my countrymen. This is the hour of my greatest joy and the fulfilment of my life." This is the second aspect of our religion, and is the absolute denial of the idea of one's separate self, and the finding of one's higher Eternal Self in the three hundred millions of people in whom God Himself lives.

The third thing which is again another name for Faith and Self-lessness, is Courage. When you believe in God, when you believe that God is guiding you, believe that God is doing all and that you are doing nothing,—what is there to fear? How can you fear when it is your creed, when it is your religion, to throw yourself away, to throw your

money, your body, your life and all that you have, away for others ? What is it that you have to fear ? There is nothing to fear. Even when you are called before the tribunals of this world, you can face them with courage. Because your very religion means that you have courage. Because it is not you, it is something within you. What can all these tribunals, what can all the powers of the world do to that which is within you, that Immortal, that Unborn and Undying One, whom the sword cannot pierce, whom the fire cannot burn, and whom the water cannot drown ? Him the jail cannot confine and the gallows cannot end. What is there that you can fear when you are conscious of Him who is within you ? Courage is then a necessity, Courage is natural and Courage is inevitable. If you rely upon

other forces, supposing that you are a Nationalist in the European sense, meaning in a purely materialistic sense, that is to say, if you want to replace the dominion of the foreigner by the dominion of some body else, it is a purely material change ; it is not a religion, it is not that you feel for the three hundred millions of your countrymen, that you want to raise them up, that you want to make them all free and happy. It is not that, but you have got some idea that your nation is different from another nation, and that these people are outsiders and that you ought to be ruling in their place. What you want is not freedom for your countrymen, but you want to replace the rule of others by yours. If you go in that spirit what will happen when a time of trial comes ? Will you have courage ? Will you face

it? You see that is merely an intellectual conviction that you have, that is merely a reason which your onter-mind suggests to you. Well, when it comes to be put to the test, what will your mind say to you? What will your intellect say to you? It will tell you "It is very well to work for the country, but, in the the meanwhile, I am going to die, or at least to be given a great deal of trouble, and when the fruit is reaped, I shall not be there to enjoy it. How can I bear all this suffering for a dream? You have this house of yours, you have this property, you have so many things which will be attacked, and so you say "That is not the way for me" If you have not Divine strength of faith and unselfishness, you will not be able to escape from other attachments, you will not like to bear affliction simply

for the sake of a change by which you will not profit. How can courage come from such a source? But when you have a higher idea, when you have realised that you have nothing, that you are nothing and that the three hundred millions of people of this country are God in the Nation, something which cannot be measured by so much land, or by so much money, or by so many lives, you will then realise that it is something Immortal that the idea for which you are working is something Immortal and that it is an Immortal Power which is working in you. All other attachments are nothing. Every other consideration disappears from your mind, and, as I said, there is no need to cultivate courage. You are led on by that Power. You are protected through life and death by one who

survives in the very hour of death, you feel your immortality in the hour of your worst sufferings, you feel you are invincible.

Now I have told you that these three things are the need of the present situation, because, as I said, the situation is this : You have undertaken a work, you have committed yourselves to something which seems to be materially impossible. You have undertaken a work, which will rouse against you the mightiest enemies whom the earth can bring forward. As in the ancient time, when the *Avatars* came, there were also born the mightiest *Daityas* and *Asuras* to face the *Avatars*, so it always is. You may be sure that if you embrace this religion of Nationalism, you will have to meet such tremendous forces as no mere material power can resist. The

hour of trial is not distant, the hour of trial is already upon you. What will be the use of your intellectual conviction? What will be the use of your outward enthusiasm? What will be the use of your shouting "Vande Mataram?" What will be the use of all the mere outward show when the hour of trial comes? Put yourselves in the place of those people who are suffering in Bengal, and think whether they have the strength and whether if it comes to you, you have the strength to meet it. With what strength will you meet it? How can you work invincibly? How can you meet it and survive? Can you answer that question? I have tried to show you that not by your material strength you meet it. Have you the other strength in you? Have you realised what Nationalism is? Have you

realised that it is a religion that you are embracing? If you have, then call yourselves Nationalists; and when you have called yourselves Nationalists, then try to live your Nationalism. Try to realise the strength within you, try to bring it forward, so that everything you do may be not your own doing, but the doing of that Truth within you. Try, so that every hour that you live shall be enlightened by that presence, that every thought of yours shall be inspired from that one fountain of inspiration that every faculty and quality in you may be placed at the service of that Immortal power within you. Then you will not say, as I have heard so many of you say, that people are so slow to take up this idea, that people are so slow to work that you have no fit leaders and that all your great men tell you a different thing and that none

of them is ready to come forward to guide you in the path that is pointed out. You will have no complaints to make against others because then you will not need any leader. The leader is within yourselves. If you can only find Him and listen to His voice, then you will not find that people will not listen to you, because there will be a voice within that people which will make itself heard. That voice and that strength is within you. If you feel it within yourselves, if you live in its presence, if it has become yourselves, then you will find that one word from you will awake an answering voice in others, that the creed which you preach will spread and will be received by all and that it will not be very long—in Bengal it has not been very long, it has not taken a century or fifty years, it has

only taken three years to change the whole nation, to give it a new spirit and heart and to put it in front of all the Indian races. From Bengal has come the example of Nationalism. Bengal which was the least respected, and the most looked down of all the Indian races for its weakness has within these three years changed so much, simply because the men there who were called to receive God within themselvs were able to receive Him, were able to bear, to suffer and live in that Power, and by living in that Power they were able to give it out. And so in three years the whole race of Bengal has been changed, and you are obliged to ask in wonder. "What is going on in Bengal?" You see a movement which no obstacle can stop, you see a great development which

no power can resist, you see the birth of the *Avatar* in the Nation, and if you have received God within you, if you have received that Power within you, you will see that God will change the rest of India in even a much shorter time, because the power has already gone forth, and is declaring itself, and when once declared, it will continue its work with ever great and greater rapidity. It will continue its work with the matured force of Divinity until the whole world sees and until the whole world understands Him, until Sri Krishna who has now hid himself in *Gokul*, who is now among the poor and despised of the Earth, who is now among the cow-herds of *Brindaban* will declare the God-head, and the whole nation will rise, the whole people of this great country will rise, filled

with Divine power, filled with the inspiration of the Almighty, and no power on earth shall resist it, and no danger or difficulty shall stop it in its onward course. Because God is there, and it is His Mission, and He has something for us to do. He has a work for his great and ancient nation. Therefore He has been born again to do it, therefore He is revealing Himself in you not that you may be like other nations, not that you may rise merely by human strength to trample under foot the weaker peoples, but because something must come out from you which is to save the whole world. That something is what the ancient *Rishis* knew and revealed, and that is to be known and revealed again to-day, it has to be revealed to the whole world and in order that He may reveal Himself, you

must first realise Him in yourselves, you must shape your lives, you must shape the lives of this great nation so that it may be fit to reveal Him and then your task will be done, and you will realise that what you are doing to-day is no mere political uprising, no mere political change, but that you have been called upon to do God's work.

## BANDEMATARAM

[*The following is the summary of a lecture delivered by Srijut Aurobindo Ghose in the Grand Square of the National School, Amraoti (Berar), on Wednesday the 29th January, 1908. The meeting commenced with the singing of Bandemataram.*]

Sj Aurobindo said that he was exceedingly pleased to know that the song had become so popular in all parts of India, and that it was being so repeatedly sung. He said that he would make this National anthem the subject of his speech. The song, he said, was not only a National anthem as the European nations look upon their own, but one replete with mighty power, being a

sacred *mantra*, revealed to us by the author of the Anandamath, who might be called an inspired *rishi*. He described the manner in which the *mantra* had been revealed to Bunkim Chandra,probab-ly by a *sannyasi* under whose teaching he was. He said that the *mantra* was not an invention, but a revivification of the old *mantra* which became extinct so to speak by the treachery of one Navakisan. The *mantra* of Bunkim Chandra was not appreciated in his own day, and he predicted that there would come a time when the whole of India would resound with the singing of the song, and the word of the prophet was miraculously fulfilled. The mean-ing of the song was not understood then because there was no patriotism, except such as consisted in making India the shadow of England and other

countries, which dazzled the sight of the sons of this our Motherland with their glory and opulence. The so-called patriots of that time might have been the well-wishers of India but not certainly ones who loved her. One who loved his mother never looked to her defects, never disregarded her as an ignorant, superstitious, degraded and decrepit woman. The speaker then unfolded the meaning of the song. As with the individual, so with the nation, there were three bodies, or *Koshas*, the *Sthula*, *Sukshma* and *Karan Shariras*. In this way the speaker went on clearing up the hidden meaning of the song. The manner in which he treated of love and devotion was exceedingly touching and the audience sat before him like dumb statues, not knowing where they were or whether they were listening to a prophet revealing to them

the higher mysteries of life. He then concluded with a most pathetic appeal to true patriotism and exhorted the audience to love the Motherland and sacrifice everything to bring about her salvation.

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## UNITED CONGRESS.

[*A well-attended public meeting was held on Friday, the 10th April, 1908 at the Panti's Math Calcutta, to discuss the lines on which the Congress postponed* sine die *at Surat may be revived. Dr. Sundari Mohon Das was elected to the chair.*]

After several gentlemen's speech Sj. Aurobindo Ghosh rose up last. He admitted his hand in drafting the resolution but denied the charge of inconsistency on the ground that this new movement as it is a divine decree cannot proceed on the basis of strict consistency of any individual conduct from his individual stand-point. The breaking-up of the Congress at Surat was God's will and

if it can meet again on a basis of union that would also come from His will. If, again, all our efforts at union fail and New Party be compelled to face troubles and persecutions that should also be taken as a divinely appointed destiny. We shall not be eager for compromise to avoid trouble and persecution as sufferings are welcome if it be God's will that we should suffer, that our Mother India would be saved. But in the meantime, we are a democratic party. At Pabna, at Dhulia and other places, people wanted a united Congress and it is our duty to try for it if no vital principle is to be sacrificed to gain that end. This was the speaker's apology for the attempt at union though as he said his hopes were not high about the success of the attempt. The Congress broke up not for personality, but for certain

definite issues which were (1) irregularities in the election of the President (2) the attempt from certain quarters to take advantage of the local majority to recede from the four Calcutta resolutions (3)the attempt to impose a creed by the help of a local majority with a view to exclude a large and growing party. Under the circumstances it was necessary to oppose the whole thing tooth-and-nail and Mr. Tilak moved an amendment to have the Congress Continuation Committee and there to proceed with the election of the President. The other party did not give him any opportunity to carry the amendment and declared the President, to be unanimously elected, though many still hold that the election was not valid as the whole Congress could not express any opinion on it. But

how to carry out the opinion of the People? We are ready to condone this irregularity if a united Congress is to be held on the basis of the Calcutta resolutions. If the other party would not accept, the responsibility of breaking-up of the Congress and having a party institution in its place would be on their shoulders. Our position is, let us work on our different party lines through our own institutions, but at the same time let us have the united Congress of the whole people.

# BARUIPUR SPEECH

[*A Swadeshi meeting was held at Baruipur, a sub-division of the district of 24 Pargs., on Sunday the 12th April 1908. Srijuts Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose with a few other prominent nationalist workers of Calcutta were invited on the occasion.*]

Sj. Shyam Sunder Chakravarti having finished his speech, Srijut Aurobindo Ghose rose to address the audience. He began with an apology for being under the necessity of addressing a Bengali audience in a foreign tongue specially by one like himself who has given his life for the Swadeshi. He pointed out that through a foreign system of education developing foreign tastes and tendencies

he had been denationalised like his country and like his country again he is now trying to re-nationalise himself.

Next he referred to the comparative want of the Swadeshi spirit in West Bengal to which Shyam Sunder Babu made very polite reference, himself coming from East Bengal. But Sj. Ghose, as he belongs to West Bengal has no hesitation in admitting the drawback. This superiority of East Bengal he attributed solely to its privilege of suffering of late from the regulation lathies and imprisonment administered by the alien bureaucrat. He offered the same explanation of the increase of the strength of boy-cott in Calcutta after the disturbances at the Beadon Square of which the police were the sole authors. The speaker dilated on the great efficacy of suffering in rousing the spirit from slumber

by a reference to the parable of two birds in the Upanishads, so often referred to by the late Swami Vivekananda. The parable relates that there was a big tree with many sweet and bitter fruits and two birds sat on the tree, one on the top of it and the other at a lower part. The latter bird looking upwards sees the other in all his glory and richness of plumage and is at times enamoured of him and feels that he is no other than the latter's highest self. But at other moments when he tastes the sweet fruits of the tree he is so much taken up with their sweetness that he quite forgets his dear and beloved companion. After a while there comes the turn of bitter fruits, the unpleasant taste of which breaks off the spell and he looks at his brilliant companion again. This is evi-

dently a parable concerning the salvation of individual souls who when they enjoy the sweets of the world forget to look upwards to the *Paramatma* who is really none else than their own highest self, and when they forget themselves in this way through the *maya* of this world, bitterness comes to dispel the *maya* and revive the true self-consciousness. The parable is equally applicable to national *mukti*. We in India fell under the influence of the foreigners' *maya* which completely possessed our souls. It was the *maya* of the alien rule, the alien civilisation, the powers and capacities of the alien people who happen to rule over us. These were as it were so many shackles that put our physical, intellectual and moral life in bondage. We went to school with the aliens, we allowed the aliens to teach

us and draw our minds away from all that was great and good in us. We considered ourselves unfit for Self-Government and political life, we looked to England as our exemplar and took her as our saviour. And all this was *maya* and bondage. When this *maya* once got its hold on us, put on us shackle after shackle, we had fallen into bondage of the mind with their education, commercial bondage, political bondage, etc., and we believed ourselves to be helpless without them. We helped them to destroy what life there was in India. We were under the protection of their police and we know now what protection they have given us. Nay, we ourselves became the instruments of our bondage. We, Bengalis entered the services of foreigners. We brought in the foreigners and established their rule.

Fallen as we were, we needed others to protect us, to teach us and even to feed us. So utterly was our self-dependence destroyed that every function of human life we were unable to fulfil.

It is only through repression and suffering that *maya* can be dispelled and the bitter fruit of Partition of Bengal administered by Lord Curzon dispelled the illusion. We looked up and saw that the brilliant bird sitting above was none else but ourselves, our real and actual selves. Thus we found *Swaraj* within ourselves and saw that it was in our hands to discover and to realise it.

Some people tell us that we have not the strength to stand upon our own legs without the help of the aliens and we should therefore work in co-operation with and also in opposition to them. But can you depend on God and *maya*

at the same time? In proportion as you depend on others the bondage of *maya* will be upon you. The first thing that a nation must do is to realise the true freedom that lies within and it is only when you understand that free within is free without, you will be really free. It is for this reason that we preach the gospel of unqualified Swaraj and it is for this that Bhupen ( Dutt ) and Upadhaya refused to plead before the alien court. Upadhaya saw the necessity of realising Swaraj within us and hence he gave himself up to it. He said that he was free and the Britishers could not bind him, his death is a parable to our nation. There is no power so great that can make India subject when we will say that God will make us free. Herein lies the true significance of National Education, Boy-cott, Swadeshi, Arbitra-

tion. Do not be afraid of obstacles in your path, it does not matter how great the forces are that stand in your way, God commands you to be free and you must be free. We ask you to give up the school under the control of the foreign bureaucracy and point out to you National education, we ask you to be away from the legal system which prevails in your country as it is a source of financial and moral downfall—another link in the chain of *maya*. Do not suffer in bondage and *maya*. Let *maya* alone and come away. Don't think that anything is impossible when miracles are being worked on every side. If you be true to yourself there is nothing to be afraid of. There is nothing unattainable by truth, love and faith. This is your whole gospel which will work out miracles. Never indulge in equivoca-

tions for your ease and safety. Do not invite weakness, stand upright. The light of Swadeshi is growing brighter through every attempt to crush it. People say there is no unity among us. How to create unity? Only through the call of our Mother and the voice of all her sons and not by any other unreal means. The voice is yet weak but it is growing as your services of the *'Ordhodaya Yoga'* and famine relief evidence, the might of God is already revealed among us, its work is spreading over the country. Even in West Bengal it has begun its work in Uttarpara and Baruipur. It is not our work but that of something mightier that compels us to go on until all bondage is swept away and India stands free before the world.

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## PALLI SAMITI.

*Sj. Aurobindo Ghose speaking on the Palli Samiti resolution at Kishoreganj said—*

The resolution on which I have been asked to speak is from one point of view the most important of all that this Conference has passed. As one of the speakers has already said, the village *samiti* is the seed of Swaraj. What is Swaraj but the organisation of the independent life of the country into centres of strength which grow out of its conditions and answer to its needs, so as to make a single and organic whole? When a nation is in a natural condition, growing from within and existing from within and in its own strength, then it deve-

lops its own centres and co-relates them according to its own needs. But as soon as for any reason this natural condition is interrupted and a foreign organism establishes itself in and dominates in the country, then that foreign body draws to itself all the sources of nourishment and the natural centres, deprived of their sustenance fail and disappear. It is for this reason that foreign rule can never be for the good of a nation, never work for its true progress and life, but must always work towards its disintegration and death. This is no new discovery, no recently invented theory of ours, but an ascertained truth of political science as taught in Europe by Europeans to Europeans. It is there laid down that foreign rule is inorganic and therefore tends to disintegrate the subject body politic by des-

troying its proper organs and centres of life. If a subject nation is ever to recover and survive, it can only be by reversing the process and establishing its own organic centres of life and strength. We in India had our own instruments of life and growth ; we had the self-dependent village—we had the Zamindar as the link between the village units and the central governing body and the central governing body itself one in which the heart of the nation beat. All these have been either destroyed or crippled by the intrusion of the foreign organism. If we are to survive as a nation we must restore the centres of strength which are natural and necessary to our growth, and the first of these, the basis of all the rest, the old foundation of Indian life and secret of Indian vitality was the self-

dependent and self-sufficient village organism. If we are to organise Swaraj we must base it on the village. But we must, at the same time, take care to avoid the mistake which did much in the past to retard our national growth. The village must not in our new national life be isolated as well as self-sufficient, but must feel itself bound up with the life of its neighbouring units, living with them in a common group for common purposes. Each group again must feel itself part of the life of the district, living in the district unity, so each district must not be engrossed in its own separate existence but feel itself a subordinate part of the single life of the province, and the province in its turn of the single life of the country. Such is the plan of reconstruction we have taken in hand, but to make it a healthy growth

and not an artificial construction we must begin at the bottom and work up to the apex. The village is the cell of the natonal body and the cell-life must be healthy and developed for the national body to be healthy and developed. Swaraj begins from the village.

Take another point of view. Swaraj is the organisation of national self-help, national self-dependence. As soon as the foreign organism begins to dominate the body politic, it compels the whole body to look to it as the centre of its activities and neglect its own organs of action till these become atrophied. We in India allowed this tendency of alien domination to affect us so powerfully that we have absolutely lost the habit and for sometime had lost the desire of independent activity and became so dependent and inert that there

can be found no example of such helplessness and subservience in history. The whole of our national life was swallowed up by this dependence. Swaraj will only be possible if this habit of subservience is removed and replaced by a habit of self-help. We must take back our life into our own hands and the change must be immediate, complete and drastic. It is no use employing half-measures, for the disease is radical and the cure must be radical also. Our aim must be to revolutionise our habits and leave absolutely no corner of our life and activities in which the habit of dependence is allowed to linger or find refuge for its insidious and destructive working, education, commerce, industry, the administration of justice among ourselves, protection, sanitation, public works, one by one we must take them all back into

our hands. Here again the village *samiti* is an indispensable instrument, for as this resolution declares, the village *samiti* is not to be a mere council for deliberation, but a strong organ of executive work. It is to set up village schools in which our children. will grow up as good citizens and patriots to live for their country and not for themselvs or for the privilege of dependent life in a dependent nation. It is to take up the work of arbitration by which we shall recover control of the administration of justice, of self-protection, of village sanitation, of small local public works, so that the life of the village may again be self-reliant and self-sufficient, free from the habit of dependence rooted in the soil. Self-help and self-dependence, the first conditions of Swaraj, depend for their organisation on the village *samiti*.

Another essential condition of Swaraj is that we should awaken the political sense of the masses. There may have been a time in history when it was enough that a few classes, the ruling classes, the learned classes, at most the trading classes should be awake. But the organisation of the modern nation depends on the awakening of the political sense in the mass. This is the age of the people, the million, the democracy. If any nation wishes to survive in the modern struggle, if it wishes to recover or maintain Swaraj, it must awaken the people and bring them into the conscious life of the nation, so that every man may feel that in the nation he lives, with the prosperity of the nation he prospers, in the freedom of the nation he is free. This work again depends on the village *samiti*. Unless we organise the united

life of the village we cannot bridge over the gulf between the educated and the masses. It is here that their lives meet and that they can feel unity. The work of the village *samiti* will be to make the masses feel Swaraj in the village, Swaraj in the group of villages, Swaraj in the district, Swaraj in the nation. They cannot immediately rise to the conception of Swaraj in the nation, they must be trained to it through the perception of Swaraj in the village. The political education of the masses is impossible unless you organise the village *samiti.*

Swaraj finally, is impossible without unity. But the unity we need for Swaraj is not a unity of opinion, a unity of speech, a unity of intellectual conviction. Unity is of the heart and springs from love. The foreign orga-

nism which has been living on us, lives by the absence of this love, by division, and it perpetuates the condition of its existence by making us look to it—as the centre of our lives and away from our mother and her children. It has set Hindu and Mahomedan at variance by means of this outward outlook ; for by regarding it as the fountain of life, however, we are led to look away from our brothers and yearn for what the alien strength can give us. The Hindu first fell a prey to this lure and it was the Mahomedan who was then feared and held down. Now that the Hindu is estranged, the same lure is held out to the Mahomedan and the brother communities, kept estranged because they look to the foreign for the source of prosperity and honours and not to their own Mother. Again, in the old days

we did not hear of this distress of the scarcity of water from which the country is suffering now so acutely. It did not exist and could not exist because there was love and the habit of mutual assistance which springs from love. The Zamindar felt that he was one with his tenants and could not justify his existence if they were suffering, so his first thought was to meet their wants and remove their disabilities. But now that we look to a foreign source for everything, this love for our countrymen, this habit of mutual assistance, this sense of mutual duty has disappeared. Each man is for himself and if anything is to be done for our brothers there is the government to do it and it is no concern of ours. This drying up of the springs of mutual affection is the cause which needs most

to be removed and the village *samiti* is again the first condition of a better state of things. It will destroy the aloofness, the seperateness of our lives and bring us back the sense of community, the habit of mutual assistance and mutual beneficence. It will take up the want of water and remove it. It will introduce arbitration courts and by healing our family feuds and individual discords, restore the lost sense of brotherhood. It will seek out the sick and give them medical relief. It will meet the want of organisation for famine relief. It will give justice, it will give protection and when all are thus working for the good of all, the old unity of our lives will be restored, the basis of Swaraj will have been laid in the tie which binds together the hearts of our people.

This is therefore no empty resolution, it is the practice of Swaraj to which you are vowing yourselves. Bengal is the leader of Indian regeneration, in Bengal its problems must be worked out and all Bengal is agreed in this—whatever division there may be among us—that the recovery of one self-dependent national life is the aim and end of our national movement. If you are really lovers of Swaraj, if you are not merely swayed by a blind feeling, a cry, but are prepared to work out Swaraj, then the measure of your sincerity shall be judged by the extent to which you carry out this resolution. Before the necessity of these village *samities* was realised there was some excuse for negligence, but now that the whole of Bengal is awakened to the necessity, there is none. You have assembled here from Kishore-

ganj, from all quarters of the Mymensingh district and on behalf of the people of Mymensingh, are about to pass this resolution. If, by this time, next year you have not practically given effect to it, we shall understand that your desire for Swaraj is a thing not of the heart but of the lips, or of the intellect at most. But if, by that time, Mymensingh is covred with village *samities* in full action, then we shall know that one District at least in Bengal has realised the conditions of Swaraj and when one District has solved the problem, it is only a question of time when over all Bengal and over all India, Swaraj will be realised.

April 1908.

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# PART II

## UTTARPARA SPEECH.

*This famous speech was delivered at Uttarpara, under the auspices of the Dharma Rakshini Sabha, just after his acqital in the Alipore Bomb Case :—*

When I was asked to speak to you at the annual meeting of your *sabha*, it was my intention to say a few words about the subject chosen for to-day, the subject of the Hindu religion. I do not know now whether I shall fulfil that intention ; for as I sat here, there came into my mind a word that I have to speak to you, a word that I have to speak to the whole of the Indian Nation. It was spoken first to myself in jail and I have come out of jail to speak it to my people.

It was more than a year ago that I came here last. When I came I was not alone ; one of the mightiest prophets of Nationalism sat by my side. It was he who then came out of the seclusion to which God had sent him, so that in the silence and solitude of his cell he might hear the word that He had to say. It was he that you came in your hundreds to welcome. Now he is far away, separated from us by thousands of miles. Others whom I was accustomed to find working beside me are absent. The storm that swept over the country has scattered them far and wide. It is I this time who have spent one year in seclusion, and now that I come out I find all changed. One who always sat by my side and was associated in my work is a prisoner in Burma ; another is in the north rotting in detention. I looked round when I came out, I looked

round for those to whom I had been accustomed to look for counsel and inspiration. I did not find them. There was more than that. When I went to jail, the whole country was alive with the cry of Bande Mataram, alive with the hope of a nation, the hope of millions of men who had newly risen out of degradation. When I came out of jail I listened for that cry, but there was instead a silence. A hush had fallen on the country and men seemed bewildered ; for instead of God's bright heaven full of the vision of the future that had been before us, there seemed to be overhead a leaden sky from which human thunders and lightnings rained. No man seemed to know which way to move, and from all side came the question, "What shall we do next ? What is there that we can do ?" I too did not know which way to move, I too did not know what was next

to be done. But one thing I knew, that as it was the Almighty Power of God which had raised that cry, that hope, so it was the same power which had sent down that silence. He who was in the shouting and the movement was also in the pause and the hush. He has sent it upon us, so that the nation might draw back for a moment and look into itself and know His will. I have not been disheartened by that silence, because I had been made familiar with silence in my prison and because I knew it was in the pause and the hush that I had myself learned this lesson through the long year of my detention. When Bipin Chandra Pal came out of jail, he came with a message, and it was an inspired message. I remember the speech he made here. It was a speech not so much political as religious in its bearing and intention. He spoke of his realisation in jail, of God

within us all, of the Lord within the nation, and in his subsequent speeches also he spoke of a greater than ordinary force in the movement and a greater than ordinary purpose before it. Now I also meet you again, I also come out of jail, and again it is you of Uttarpara who are the first to welcome me, not at a political meeting but at a meeting of a society for the protection of our religion. That message which Bipin Chandra Pal received in Buxar jail, God gave to me in Alipore. That knowledge He gave to me day after day during my twelve months of imprisonment and it is that which He has commanded me to speak to you now that I have come out.

I knew I would come out. The year of detention was meant only for a year of seclusion and of training. How could anyone hold me in jail longer than was necessary for God's purpose? He had

given me a word to speak and a work to do, and until that word was spoken I knew that no human power could hush me, until that work was done no human power could stop God's instrument, however weak that instrument might be or however small. Now that I have come out, even in these few minutes, a word has been suggested to me which I had no wish to speak. The thing I had in my mind He has thrown from it and what I speak is under an impulse and a compulsion.

When I was arrested and hurried to the Lal Bazar hajat I was shaken in faith for a while, for I could not look into the heart of His intention. Therefore I faltered for a moment and cried out in my heart to Him, "What is this that has happened to me? I believed that I had a mission to work for the people of my country and until that

work was done, I should have Thy protection. Why then am I here and on such a charge?" A day passed and a second day and a third, when a voice came to me from within "Wait and see." Then I grew calm and waited, I was taken from Lal Bazar to Alipore and was placed for one month in a solitary cell apart from men. There I waited day and night for the voice of God within me, to know what He had to say to me, to learn what I had to do. In this seclusion the earliest realisation, the first lesson came to me. I remembered then that a month or more before my arrest, a call had come to me to put aside all activity, to go into seclusion and to look into myself, so that I might enter into closer communion with Him. I was weak and could not accept the call. My work was very dear to me, and in the pride of my heart I thought

that unless I was there, it would suffer or even fail and cease ; therefore I would not leave it. It seemed to me that He spoke to me again and said, "The bonds you had not strength to break, I have broken for you, because it is not my will nor was it ever my intention that that should continue. I have had another thing for you to do and it is for that I have brought you here, to teach you what you could not learn for yourself and to train you for my work." Then He placed the Gita in my hands. His strength entered into me and I was able to do the *sadhan* of the Gita. I was not only to understand intellectually but to realise what Sri krishna demanded of Arjuna and what He demands of those who aspire to do His work, to be free from repulsion and desire, to do work for Him without the demand for fruit, to renounce self-

will and become a passive and faithful instrument in His hands, to have an equal heart for high and low, friend and opponent, success and failure, yet not to do His work negligently. I realised what the Hindu religion meant. We speak often of the Hindu religion, of the *Sanatana Dharma*, but few of us really know what that religion is. Other religions are preponderatingly religions of faith and profession, but the *Sanatana Dharma* is life itself; it is a thing that has not so much to be believed as lived. This is the *dharma* that for the salvation of humanity was cherished in the seclusion of this peninsula from of old. It is to give this religion that India is rising. She does not rise as other countries do, for self or when she is strong, to trample on the weak. She is rising to shed the eternal light entrusted to her over the

world. India has always existed for humanity and not for herself and it is for humanity and not for herself that she must be great.

Therefore this was the next thing He pointed out to me,—He made me realise the central truth of the Hindu religion, He turned the hearts of my jailors to me and they spoke to the Englishman in charge of the jail, "He is suffering in his confinement ; let him at least walk outside his cell for half an hour in the morning and in the evening." So it was arranged, and it was while I was walking that His strength again entered into me. I looked at the jail that secluded me from men and it was no longer by its high walls that I was imprisoned ; no it was Vasudeva who surrounded me. I walked under the branches of the tree in front of my cell but it was not the tree, I knew it was

Vasudeva, it was Sri krishna whom I saw standing there and holding over me His shade. I looked at the bars of my cell, the very grating that did duty for a door and again I saw Vasudeva. It was Narayana who was guarding and standing sentry over me. Or I lay on the coarse blankets that were given me for a couch and felt the arm of Sri krishna around me, the arms of my Friend and Lover. This was the first use of the deeper vision He gave me. I looked at the prisoners in the jail, the thieves, the murderers, the swindlers, and as I looked at them I saw Vasudeva, it was Narayana whom I found in these darkened souls and misused bodies. Amongst these thieves and dacoits there were many who put me to shame by their sympathy, their kindness, the humanity triumphant over such adverse circumstances. One I saw among them espe-

cially, who seemed to me a saint, a peasant of my nation who did not know how to read and write, an alleged dacoit sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment, one of those whom we look down upon in our Pharasaical pride of class as *chotalok*. Once more He spoke to me and said, "Behold the people among whom I have sent you to do a little of my work. This is the nature of the nation I am raising up and the reason why I raise them."

When the case opened in the lower court and we were brought before the Magistrate I was followed by the same insight. He said to me "When you were cast into jail, did not your heart fail and did you not cry out to me, where is Thy protection? Look now at the Magistrate, look now at the Prosecuting Counsel." I looked and it was not the Magistrate whom I saw, it was Vasu-

deva, it was Narayana who was sitting there on the bench. I looked at the Prosecuting Counsel and it was not the Counsel for the prosecution that I saw ; it was Sri krishna who sat there, it was my Lover and Friend who sat there and smiled, "Now do you fear?" He said, "I am in all men and I overrule their actions and their words. My protection is still with you and you shall not fear. This case which is brought against you leave it in my hand. It is not for you. It was not for the trial that I brought you here but for something else. The case itself is only a means for my work and nothing more." Afterwards when the trial opened in the Sessions Court, I began to write many instructions for my Counsel as to what was false in the evidence against me and on what points the witnesses might be cross-examined. Then something happened which I had

not expected. The arrangements which had been made for my defence were suddenly changed and another Counsel stood there to defend me. He came unexpectedly,—a friend of mine, but I did not know he was coming. You have all heard the name of the man who put away from him all other thoughts and abandoned all his practice, who sat up half the night day after day for months and broke his health to save me,—Srijut Chittaranjan Das. When I saw him, I was satisfied, but I still thought it necessary to write instructions. Then all that was put from me and I had the message from within, "This is the man who will save you from the snares put around your feet. Put aside those papers. It is not you who will instruct him. I will instruct him." From that time I did not of myself speak a word to my Counsel

about the case or give a single instruction and if ever I was asked a question, I always found that my answer did not help the case. I had left it to him and he took it entirely into his hands with what result you know. I knew all along what He meant for me, for I heard it again and again, always I listened to the voice within ; "I am guiding, therefore fear not. Turn to your own work for which I have brought you to jail and when you come out, remember never to fear, never to hesitate. Remember that it is I who am doing this, not you nor any other. Therefore whatever clouds may come, whatever dangers and sufferings, whatever difficulties, whatever impossibilities, there is nothing impossible, nothing difficult. I am in the nation and its uprising and I am Vasudeva, I am Narayana, and what I will, shall be, not what others will. What I choose to

bring about, no human power can stay."

Meanwhile he had brought me out of solitude and placed me among those who had been accused along with me. You have spoken much to-day of my self-sacrifice and devotion to my country. I have heard that kind of speech ever since I came out of jail, but I hear it with embarrassment, with something of pain. For I know my weakness, I am a prey to my own faults and backslidings. I was not blind to them before and when they all rose up against me in seclusion, I felt them utterly. I knew then that I the man was a mass of weakness, a faulty and imperfect instrument, strong only when a higher strength entered into me. Then I found myself among these youngmen and in many of them I discovered a mighty courage, a power of self-effacement in comparison with which I was simply nothing. I saw one or two

who were not only superior to me in force and character,—very many were that,—but in the promise of that intellectual ability on which I prided myself. He said to me, "This is the young generation, the new and mighty nation that is arising at my command. They are greater than yourself. What have you to fear? If you stood aside or slept, the work would still be done. If you were cast aside to-morrow, here are the young men who will take up your work and do it more mightily than you have ever done. You have only got some strength from me to speak a word to this nation which will help to raise it." This was the next thing He told me.

Then a thing happened suddenly and in a moment I was hurried away to the seclusion of a solitary cell. What happened to me during that period I am not impelled to say, but only this that day

after day, He showed me His wonders and made me realise the utter truth of the Hindu religion. I had had many doubts before. I was brought up in England amongst foreign ideas and an atmosphere entirely foreign. Many things in Hinduism I had once been inclined to believe that it was all imagination, that there was much of dream in it, much that was delusion and *maya*. But now day after day I realised in the mind, I realised in the heart, I realised in the body the truths of the Hindu religion. They became living experiences to me, and things were opened to me which no material science could explain. When I first approached Him, it was not entirely in the spirit of the *Bhakta*, it was not entirely in the spirit of the *Jnani*. I came to Him long ago in Baroda some years before the Swadeshi began and I was drawn into the public field.

When I approached God at that time, I hardly had a living faith in Him. The agnostic was in me, the atheist was in me, the sceptic was in me and I was not absolutely sure that there was a God at all. I did not feel His presence. Yet something drew me to the truth of the Vedas, the truth of the Gita, the truth of the Hindu religion. I felt there must be a mighty truth somewhere in this Yoga, a mighty truth in this religion based on the Vedanta. So when I turned to the Yoga and resolved to practise it and find out if my idea was right, I did it in this spirit and with this prayer to Him, "If Thou art, then Thou knowest my heart. Thou knowest that I do not ask for *Mukti*, I do not ask for anything which others ask for. I ask only for strength to uplift this nation, I ask only to be allowed to live and work for this people whom I love and to whom I pray

that I may devote my life." I strove long for the realisation of Yoga and at last to some extent I had it, but in what I most desired, I was not satisfied. Then in the seclusion of the jail, of the solitary cell I asked for it again. I said "Give me Thy *adesh*. I do not know what work to do or how to do it. Give me a message." In the communion of Yoga two messages came. The first message said, "I have given you a work and it is to help to uplift this nation. Before long the time will come when you will have to go out of jail; for it is not my will that this time either you should be convicted or that you should pass the time as others have to do, in suffering for their country. I have called you to work, and that is the *adesh* for which you have asked. I give you the *adesh* to go forth and do my work." The second message came and it said, "Something

has been shown to you in this year of seclusion, something about which you had your doubts and it is the truth of the Hindu religion. It is this religion that I am raising up before the world, it is this that I have perfected and developed through the *rishis*, saints and *avatars*, and now it is going forth to do my work among the nations. I am raising up this nation to send forth My word. This is the *Sanatana Dharma*, this is the eternal religion which you did not really know before, but which I have now revealed to you. The agnostic and the sceptic in you have been answered, for I have given you proofs within and without you, physical and subjective, which have satisfied you. When you go forth, speak to your nation always this word that it is for the *Sanatana Dharma* that they arise, it is for the world and not for themselves that they

arise. I am giving them freedom for the service of the world. When therefore it is said that India shall rise, it is the *Sanatana Dharma* that shall rise. When it is said that India shall be great, it is the *Sanatana Dharma* that shall be great. When it is said that India shall expand and extend herself, it is the *Sanatana Dharama* that shall expand and extend itself over the world. It is for the *dharma* and by the *dharma* that India exists. To magnify the religion means to magnify the country. I have shown you that I am everywhere and in all men and in all things, that I am in this movement and I am not only working in those who are striving for the country but I am working also in those who oppose them and stand in their path. I am working in every body and whatever men may think or do they can do nothing but help on my purpose. They also are

doing my work ; they are not my enemies but my instruments. In all your actions you are moving forward without knowing which way you move. You mean to do one thing and you do another. You aim at a result and your efforts subserve one that is different or contrary. It is *Shakti*, that has gone forth and entered into the people. Long ago I have been preparing this uprising and now the time has come and it is I who will lead it to its fulfilment."

This then is what I have to say to you. The name of your society is "Society for the Protection of Religion." Well, the protection of the religion, the protection and upraising before the world of the Hindu religion, that is the work before us. But what is the Hindu religion? What is this religion which we call *Sanatana*, eternal? It is the Hindu religion only because the Hindu

nation has kept it, because in this Peninsula it grew up in the seclusion of the Sea and the Himalayas, because in this sacred and ancient land it was given as a charge to the Aryan race to preserve through the ages. But it is not circumscribed by the confines of a single country, it does not belong peculiarly and for ever to a bounded part of the world. That which we call the Hindu religion is really the eternal religion, because it is the universal religion which embraces all others. If a religion is not universal, it cannot be eternal. A narrow religion, a sectarian religion, an exclusive religion can live only for a limited time and a limited purpose. This is the one religion that can triumph over materialism by including and anticipating the discoveries of science and the speculations of philosophy. It is the one religion which impresses on mankind the closeness of

God to us and embraces in its compass all the possible means by which man can approach God. It is the one religion which insists every moment on the truth which all religions acknowledge that He is in all men and all things and that in Him we move and have our being. It is the one religion which enables us not only to understand and believe this truth but to realise it with every part of our being. It is the one religion which shows the world what the world is, that it is the *lila* of Vasudeva. It is the one religion which shows us how we can best play our part in that *lila*, its subtlest laws and its noblest rules. It is the one religion which does not separate life in any smallest details from religion, which knows what immortality is and has utterly removed from us the reality of death.

This is the word that has been put

into my mouth to speak to you to-day. What I intended to speak, has been put away from me, and beyond what is given to me I have nothing to say. It is only the word that is put into me that I can speak to you. That word is now finished. I spoke once before with this force in me and I said then that this movement is not a political movement and that nationalism is not politics but a religion, a creed, a faith. I say it again to-day, but I put it in another way. I say no-longer that nationalism is a creed, a religion, faith ; I say that it is the *Sanatana Dharma* which for us is nationalism. This Hindu nation was born with the *Sanatana Dharma*, with it it moves and with it it grows. When the *Sanatana Dharma* declines, then the nation declines, and if the *Sanatana Dharma* were capable of perishing, with the *Sanatana Dharma* it would perish. The *Sanatana Dharma*, that is nationalism. This is the message that I have to speak to you.

## BEADON SQUARE SPEECH.

*A Swadeshi meeting was held at Beadon Square under the presidency of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee. Several speakers addressed the meeting. The following is the authorised version of Sj. Aurobindo Ghose's Speech delivered at that meeting.*

Sj. Aurobindo Ghose said that when in jail he had been told that the country was demoralised by the repressions. He could not believe it then because his experience of the movement had been very different. He had always found that when Swadeshi was flagging or the Boycott beginning to relax, it only needed an act of repression on the part of the authorities to give it redoubled vigour. It seemed to him then impossible that the deportations would

have a different effect. When nine of the most active and devoted workers for the country had been suddenly hurried away from their homes without any fault on their part, without the Government being able to formulate a single definite charge against them surely the Boycott instead of decreasing would grow tenfold more intense. And what after all were the repressions? Some people sent to prison, some deported, a number of house-searches, a few repressive enactments, limiting the liberty of the press and the platform. This was nothing compared with the price other nations had paid for their liberty. They also would have to suffer much more than this before they could make any appreciable advance towards their goal. This was God's law; it was not the rulers who demanded the price, it was God who demanded it.

It was His law that a fallen nation should not be allowed to rise without infinite suffering and mighty effort. That was the price it had to pay for its previous lapses from national duty. The speaker did not think that there was any real demoralisation. There might be a hesitation among the richer and more vulnerable parts of the community to hold conferences or meetings or give public expression to their views and feelings. He did not measure the strength of the movement by the number of meetings or of people present at the meetings. He measured it by the strength and indomitable obstinacy of feeling and purpose in the hearts of the people. Their first duty was to keep firm hold on their ideal and perform steadfastly the vows they had made before God and the nation. The rulers were never tired of saying that we should get self-govern-

ment when we were fit. Fitness meant national capacity and strength was the basis of capacity. That was what Lord Morley really meant when he asked himself repeatedly whether this was a real uprising of the nation or a passing excitement. He meant, was it a movement with real strength in it, a movement with elemental force enough in it to resist and survive? That experiment was now being made. They must not expect substantial gains at so small a cost. He had heard vaguely of the reforms when in prison; he had heard them ecstatically described. He was surprised to hear that description. He had been in England for fourteen years and knew something of the English people and their politics. He could not belive that England or any European people would give substantial reforms after so short an agitation and so scanty a proof of national strength.

It was not the fault of the British people, it was a law of politics that they, who have, should be unwilling to yield what they have until they had fully tested the determination of the subject people and even then they would only give just as much as they could not help giving. When he came out, he found what these reforms were. The so-called introduction of the elective principle was a sham and the power given was nothing. For the rest, it was a measure arranged with a skill which did credit to the diplomacy of British statesman so that we should lose and they gain. It would diminish the political power of the educated class which was the brain and backbone of the nation, it would sow discord among the various communities. This was not a real reform but reaction. They would have to go much further in suffering and self-sacrifice before they

could hope for anything substantial. They must hold firm in their determination and keep the Swadeshi unimpaired and by that he meant the determination to assert their national individuality in every branch of national activity. There was one thing that might be said how could we expand the Swadeshi if all our methods were taken out of our hands? That ould easily be done by the Government. The authorities in this country had absolute and irresponsible power. It had practically been admitted by a responsible member of the Liberal Government that the liberty of no subject of the British Crown was safe in this country if the Government of India took it into its head that he was dangerous or inconvenient, if they were informed by the police who had distinguished themselves at Midnapur or by information as tainted the perjurers, forgers, informers,

approvers, for what other information could they have, circumstanced as they were by their own choice in this country, —that such and such men had been seditious or were becoming seditious or might be seditious or that their presence in their homes was dangerous to the peace of mind of the C. I. D. Against such information there was no safety even for the greatest men in the country, the purest in life, the most blameless and inoffensive in their public activity. Then there was this sunset regulation. It appeared that we were peaceful citizens until sunset, but after sunset we turned into desperate characters,—well, he was told, even half-an-hour before sunset ; apparently even the sun could not be entirely trusted to keep us straight. We had, it seems, stones in our pockets to throw at the police and some of us, perhaps, dangle bombs in

our *chadders*. How was this prohibition brought about? Merely by a little expenditure of ink in the Political Department. It would be quite easy to extend it further and prevent public meetings. It was being enforced on us that our so-called liberties were merely *Maya*. We believed in them for a time and acted on the belief; then one fine morning we wake up and look around for them but they are not there, in reality they never were there; they were *Maya*, illusions; the reason was that instead of accepting the reforms which did not mean control, some of us did not believe even in that but that was the minimum on which all were agreed. Still if all our liberties were taken away, what were we to do? Even that would not stop the movement. Christ said to the disciples who expected a material kingdom on the spot. 'The kingdom of heaven is within you.' To them too he might

say "The kingdom of Swaraj is within you."

Let them win and keep that kingdom of Swaraj, the sense of the national separateness and individuality, the faith in its greatness and future, the feeling of God within ourselves and in the nation, the determination to devote every thought and action to His service. Here no coercion or repression could interfere ; here there was no press law or sunset regulation. And it was a law of the psychology of men and nations that the Brahma once awakened within must manifest itself without and nothing could eventually prevent that manifestation. Moreover, their methods were borrowed from England. England gave them and encouraged their use when it was in-offensive to her, but the moment they were used so as to coflict with British interests and to expand national

life and strength, they were taken away. But the Indians were a nation apart ; they were not dependent on these methods. They had a wonderful power of managing things without definite means. Long before the Press come into existence or telegraph wires, the nation had a means of spreading news from one end of the country to another with electrical rapidity—a Press too impalpable to be touched. They had the power of enforcing the public will without any fixed organisation, or associating without an association—without even the European refuge, of a secret association. The spirit was what mattered, if the spirit were there, the movement would find out its own channels ; for after all it was the power of God manifested in the movement which would command its own means and create its own channels. They must

have the firm faith that India must rise and be great and that every thing that happened, every difficulty, every reverse must help and further their end. The trend was upward and the time of decline was over. The morning was at hand and once the light had shown itself, it could never be night again. The dawn would soon be complete and the sun rise over the horizon. The sun of India's destiny would rise and fill all India with its light and overflow India and overflow Asia and overflow the World. Every hour, every moment could only bring them nearer to the brightness of the day that God had decreed.

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# JHALAKATI SPEECH.

*A Speech delivered in the conference at Jhalakati in the district of Barisal.*

I have first to express to you my personal gratitude for the kindly reception you have accorded to me. For a year I have been secluded from the fellowship and brotherly embrace of my fellow-countrymen. To me, therefore, the kindliness of your welcome must awake much keener feelings than would have been the case in other circumstances. Especially it is a cause of rejoicing to me to have that welcome in Barisal. When I come to this District, when I come to this soil of Backergunge which has been made sacred and ever memorable in the history of this country—I come to no ordinary place. When I come to Barisal,

I come to the chosen temple of the Mother—I come to a sacred *pithasthan* of the national spirit—I come to the birth place and field of work of Aswini Kumar Dutt.

### TROUBLES OF BARISAL

It is now the fourth year since I came to Barisal first on the occasion of the Provincial Conference. Three years have passed since then—they have been years of storm and stress to the country,—they have been years during which history has been making, during which the people of India have been undergoing a process of re-birth. Many things have happned in these years, especially in the last few months. One sign of what has been happening in the past is this empty chair (pointing to the chair upon which Aswini Kumar's photo

was placed.) One aspect of these years has been a series of repressions. They have been years in which the country has had to undergo the sufferings and sacrifices which repression involves. Barisal has had its full share of these sufferings. They had begun even before I last came among you. You had then the regulation lathi of the Police and the Gurkha visitation. After that there have been other forms of coercion. In this very town of Jhalakati you had to pay a punitive police tax. It was a punitive tax, punitive not of any offence of which you have been guilty,—for, you have been guilty of none. In Barisal, there was no disturbance, no breach of the law. On the contrary, you have always been patient and self-restrained—you have always kept within the four corners of the law. What you have been punished for was your patriotism—you

were punished for Swadeshism—you were punished for your successful organisation of boycott. The tax was borne by the *mahajans* of Jhalakati with the readiness and uncomplaining endurance of large-hearted patriotism.

## THE DEPORTATIONS

And now there have come the deportations. You have been called to endure the exile of those who have been dearest to you, who stood for all that was patriotic and noble in the district. Of the deportation Barisal has had more than its full share. Of those deported three are sons of this district. The man whose name will live for ever on the lips of his countrymen as one of the great names of the age—one of the makers of the new nation—Aswini Kumar Dutt has been taken away from you. His

active and devoted lieutenant has been taken away from you. That warm-hearted patriot whom I am proud to have had the privilege of calling my personal friend—Monoranjan Guha—has been taken away from you. Why have they been exiled? What was their offence? Can anyone in Barisal name a single action—can anyone of those who have sent him into exile name definitely any single action which Aswini Kumar Dutt has committed, of which the highest and noblest man might not be proud? Can anyone name a single action of Krishna Kumar Mitra's which would be derogatory to the reputation of the highest in the land? There have indeed been charges—vague charges, shameless charges—made. The law under which they have been exiled requires no charge. The law under which they have been exiled has been impugned in

Parliament as an antiquated and anomalous Regulation, utterly out of place and unfit to be used in modern times. When it was so attacked and its use by the government of India challenged, Lord Morley, the man who rules India with absolute sway and stands or should stand to us as the incarnation of British statesmanship, made an answer which was not the answer of a statesman but of an attorney. "The law" he said, is as good a law as any of the Statue Book." What is meant—what does Lord Morley mean—by a "good law ?" In a certain sense every law is good law which is passed by an established authority. If there were a law which made Swadeshi illegal by which to buy a Swadeshi cloth would become a criminal action punishable by legal tribunal—there have been such laws in the past ; and if that were enacted by the

Legislative Council it would be in Lord Morley's sense of the word as good a law as any upon the Statue Book. But would it be a good law in the true sense or a travesty of law and justice? Lord Morley says it is a good law. We say it is a lawless law,—a dishonest law,—a law that is in any real sense of the word, no law at all. For what is its substance and purpose? It provides that when you cannot bring any charge against a man which can be supported by proofs—and when you have no evidence which would stand for a moment before a court of justice, in any legal tribunal—when you have nothing against him except that his existence is inconvenient to You, then you need not advance any charge, you need not bring any evidence, you are at liberty to remove him from his home, from his friends, from his legitimate activities and intern him

from the rest of his life in a jail. This is the law which is as good a law as any on the Statue Book! But what does its presence on the Statue Book mean? It means that under certain circumstances or whenever an absolute authority chooses, there is no law in the land for any subject of the British Crown—no safety for the liberty of the person. It is under this law that nine of the most devoted workers for the country have been exiled, some of whose names are household words in India and incompatible with any imputation of evil. When the authorities were pressed in Parliament for an account of the reasons for their action they would not bring and refused to bring any definite accusation. Once indeed under the pressure of cross-examination a charge was advanced,—wild, vague and baseless. It was said in effect that these men were instigators and

pay-masters of anarchy and bloodshed. What was the authority under which such a charge was made ? How was it that this monstrous falsehood was allowed to proceed from the mouths of His Majesty's Minister and pollute the atmosphere of the House of Commons ? Is there a man in his senses who will believe that Aswini Kumar Dutt was the instigator and pay-master of anarchy and bloodshed or that Krishna Kumar Mitra was the instigator and pay-master of anarchy and bloodshed,—men whose names were synonymous for righteousness of action and nobility of purposes and whose whole lives were the embodiment of uprightness, candour and fair and open living before all men ? We have been told that it was not only on police evidence that they were exiled. That was not what was said at the beginning. At first it was on police in-

formation that the deportations were justified and any attempt to impugn that authority was resented. But now that police information has been shown to be false and unreliable, it is said that there was other than police information to justify the action of the authorities. We know what that information must have been. I will not make any sweeping charge against a whole body of men without exception. I know that even among the police there are men who are upright and observe truth and honesty in their dealings. I have met such men and honoured them. But we know what the atmosphere of that department is, we know what the generality of Police officers are and how little reliance can be placed upon them. Of the value of police information Midnapore is the standing and conclusive proof. Besides this police information what else there have

been? Obviously the information on which the police has relied in certain of these cases—the evidence of the hired perjurer and forger, of the approver who to save himself from a baseless charge makes allegations yet more unfounded against others and scatters mud on the most spotless reputations in the land. If there were any other source besides this, we know too what that must have been. There are a sprinkling of *Vibhishans* among us—men who for their own ends are willing to tell any lie that they think will please the authorities or injure their personal enemies. But if the Government in this country have upon such information believed that the lives of Aswini Kumar Dutt and Krishna Kumar Mitra are a mere mask and nor the pure and spotless lives we have known, then we must indeed say "what an amount of folly

and ignorance rules at the present moment in this unhappy country."

THE HAMMER OF GOD

Well we have had many other forms of repression besides these deportations. We have had charges of sedition, charges of dacoity and violence, brought against the young men who are the hope of our country—charges such as those which we have seen breaking down and vanishing into nothing when tested by a high and impartial tribunal. This is the nature of the repression we have been called upon to suffer. It has been so engineered by the underlings of the Government that it strikes automatically at those who are most energetic, most devoted, most self-denying in the service of the mother-country. It addresses itself to the physical signs, the

outward manifestations of our national life, and seeks by suppressing them to put an end to that national life and movement. But it is a strange idea, a foolish idea, which men have, indeed, always cherished under such circumstances, but which has been disproved over and over again in history—to think that a nation which has once risen,—once has been called up by the voice of God to rise—will be stopped by mere physical repression. It has never so happened in the history of a nation, nor will it so happen in the history of India. Storm has swept over us to-day. I saw it come I saw the striding of the storm-blast and the rush of the rain and as I saw it an idea came to me. What is this storm that is so mighty and sweeps with such fury upon us? And I said in my heart. "It is God who rides abroad on the wings of the hurricane,—it is

the might and force of the Lord that manifested itself and His Almighty hands that seized and shook the roof so violently over our heads to-day." A storm like this has swept also our national life. That too was the manifestation of the Almighty. We were building an edifice to be the temple of our Mother's worship—were rearing her a new and fair mansion, a place fit for her dwelling. It was then that He came down upon us. He flung himself upon the building we had raised. He shook the roof with this mighty hands and part of the building was displaced and ruined. Why has He done this? Repression is nothing but the hammer of God that is beating us into shape so that we may be moulded into a mighty nation and an instrument for His work in the world. We are iron upon His anvil and the blows are showering upon us

not to destory but to recreate. Without suffering there can be no growth. It is not in vain Aswini Kumar Dutt has been taken from his people. It is not in vain that Krishna Kumar Mitra has been taken from us and is rotting in Agra jail. It is not in vain that all Maharastra mourns for Tilak at Mandalay. It is He, not any other, who has taken them and His ways are not the ways of men but He is all-wise. He knows better than we do what is needful for us. He has taken Aswini Kumar Dutt away from Barisal. Is the movement dead ? Is Swadeshi dead ? The rulers of the country in their scanty wisdom have thought that by lopping off the heads the movement will cease. They do not know great as he is, Aswini Kumar Dutt is not the leader of this movement, that Tilak is not the leader,—God is the leader. They

do not know the storm that has been sweeping over the country was not sent by them, but by Him for His own great purpose. And the same strength that was manifested in the storms to-day and in the storm of calamity that has passed over the country—the same strength is in us.

### OUR "SPIRITUAL STRENGTH"

And if they are mighty to afflict, we are mighty to endure. We are no ordinary race. We are a people ancient as our hills and river and we have behind us a history of manifold greatness, not surpassed by any other race, we are the descendants of those who performed *tapasya* and underwent unheard of austerities for the sake of spiritual gain and of their own will submitted to all the sufferings of which humanity

is capable. We are the children of those mothers who ascended with a smile the funeral pyre that they might follow their husbands to another world. We are a people to whom suffering is welcome and who have a spiritual strength within them, greater than any physical force, we are a people in whom God has chosen to manifest Himself more than any other at many great moments of our history. It is because God has chosen to manifest Himself and has entered into the hearts of his people that we are rising again as a nation. Therefore it matters not even if those who are greatest and most loved are taken away. I trust in God's mercy and believe that they will soon be restored to us. But even if they don't come again still the movement will not cease. It will move forward irresistibly until God's will in it is fulfilled. He

fulfils His purposes inevitably and these too He will fulfil. Those who are taken from us must after all some day pass away. We are strong in their strength. We have worked in their inspiration. But in the inevitable course of nature they will pass from us and there must be others who will take their places. He has taken them away from us for a little in order that in their absence we might feel that it was not really in their strength that we were strong in their inspiration that we worked but that a Higher force was working in them and when they are removed, can still work in the hearts of the people. When they pass away others will arise or even if no great men stand forth to lead, still the soul of this people will be great with the force of God within and do the work. This is that He seeks to teach us by these seperations—by

these calamities. The men are gone, the movement has not ceased. The National School at Jhalakati was started one month after the deportation of Aswini Kummar Dutt, that is a patent sign that the movement is not as our rulers would ignorantly have it, got up by eloquent agitators. The movement goes on by the force of nature; it works as force of nature, works and goes inevitable on, whatever obstacle comes in the way.

## OUR OBJECT

What is it that this movement seeks, not according to the wild chimeras born of unreasoning fear but in its real aim and purpose? What is it that we seek? We seek the fulfilment of our life as a nation. This is what the word Swaraj, which is a bug bear and terror to the

Europeans, really means. When they hear it, they are full of unreasoning terrors. They think Swaraj is independence, it is freedom and that means that the people are going to rise against them in rebellion, that means there are bombs behind every bush, that every volunteer who gives food to his famine-stricken countrymen or nurses the cholera-stricken is a possible rebel and dacoit. Swaraj is not the colonial form of Government nor any form of Government. It means the fulfilment of our national life. That is what we seek, that is why God has sent us into the world to fulfil Him by fulfilling ourselves in our individual life, in family, in the community, in the nation, in humanity. That is why He has sent us to the world and it is this fulfilment that we demand, for this fulfilment is life and to depart from it is to perish.

Our object, our claim is that we shall not perish as a nation, but live as a nation. Any authority that goes against this object will dash itself against the eternal throne of justice—it will dash itself against the laws of nature which are the laws of God, and be broken to pieces.

## Our Means

This then is our object and by what means do we seek it? We seek it by feeling our separateness and pushing forward our individual self-fulfilment by what we call Swadeshi—Swadeshi in commerce and manufacture, in politics, in education, in law and administration, in every branch of national activity. No doubt this means independence, it means freedom; but it does not mean rebellion. There are some who fear to use the word

"freedom", but I have always used the word because it has been the *mantra* of my life to aspire towards freedom of my nation. And when I was last in jail, I clung to that *mantra* ; and through the mouth of my counsel I used this word persistently. What he said for me—and it was said not only on my behalf, but of all who cherish this ideal—was this: If to aspire to independence and preach freedom is a crime you may cast me into jail and there bind me with chains. If to preach freedom is a crime then I am a criminal and let me be punished. But freedom does not mean the use of violence —it does not mean bombs ; it is the fulfilment of our separate national existence. If there is any authority mad enough to declare that Swadeshism, national education, arbitration, association for improvement of our physique, is illegal it is not stamping out anarchism ;

it is on the country establishing a worse anarchism from above. It sets itself against the law of God that gives to every nation their primary rights. The Judge in the Alipore Bomb case said that the aspiration after independence and the preaching of the ideal of independence was a thing no Englishman could condemn. But if you say that the aspiration after independence is a thing none can condemn and yet put down by force the only peaceful means of securing independence you are really declaring that it is the practice of independence which you will not tolerate. Because a few have gone mad and broken the law you have chosen to brand a whole people, to condemn a nation and to suppress a whole national movement. With that we have nothing to do. We have no voice in the Government of our country; and the laws and their administration are things in which

you don't allow us to have any concern. But one thing is in our power; our courage and devotion are in our power; our sacrifice, our sufferings are in our power that you cannot take away from us, and so long as you cannot take that from us you can do nothing. Your repression cannot for ever continue, for it will bring anarchy into the country. You will not be able to continue your administration if this repression remains permanent. Your Government will become disorganised; the trade, you are using such means to save will languish and capital be frightened from the country.

### CONCLUSION

We have therefore only to suffer. We have only to be strong and enduring. All this machinery of coercion, all this repression, will then be in vain. That

is the only virtue that is needed. We shall never lose our fortitude, our courage, our endurance. There are some who think that by lowering our heads the country will escape repression. That is not my opinion. It is by looking the storm in the face and meeting it with a high courage, fortitude and endurance that the nation can be saved. It is that which the Mother demands from us,—which God demands from us. He sent the storm yesterday and it carried the roof away. He sent it to-day with greater violence and it seized the roof to remove it. But to-day the roof remained. This is what He demands of us,—I have sent my storms upon you, so that you may feel and train your strength. If you have suffered by them, if something has been broken, it does not matter, so long as you learn the lesson that it is for strength I make you suffer and always

for strength." What did the volunteers do to-day when they flung themselves in crowds on the roof and braved the fury of the hurricane and by main strength held down the roof over their heads? That is the lesson that all must learn and especially the young men of Bengal and India. The storm may come down on us again and with greater violence. Then remember this, brave its fury, feel your strength, train your strength in the struggle with the violence of the wind, and by that strength hold down the roof over the temple of the Mother.

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## THE RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION.

*A Speech delivered at the annual meeting of the Howrah People's Association.*

My friend Pandit Gispati Kavyatirtha has somewhat shirked to-day his duty as it was set down for him in the programme and left it to me. I hope you will not mind if I depart a little from the suggestion he has made to me. I would like, instead of assuming the role of a preacher and telling you, your duties which you know well enough yourselves, to take, if you will allow me, a somewhat wider subject, not unconnected with it but of a wider range. In addressing you to-day I wish to say a few words about the general right of association especially as we have practised and are trying to prac-

tise it in India to-day. I choose this subject for two reasons, first, because it is germane to the nature of the meeting we are holding, and secondly, because we have seen arbitrary hands laid upon that right of association which is everywhere cherished as a sign and safeguard of liberty and means of development of a common life.

There are three rights which are particularly cherished by free nations. In a nation the sovereign powers of Government may be enjoyed by the few or the many, but there are three things to which the people in European countries cling, which they persistently claim and after which, if they have them not, they always aspire. There are first, the right of a free Press, secondly, the right of free public meeting, and, thirdly, the right of association. There is a particular reason why they cling to these three as inherent

rights which they claim as sacred and with which authority has no right to interfere. The right of free speech ensures to the people the power which is the greatest means for self-development, and that is the power of spreading the idea. According to our philosophy it is the idea which is building up the world. It is the idea which expresses itself in matter and takes to itself bodies. This is true also in the life of humanity ; it is true in politics, in the progress and life of a nation. It is the idea which shapes material institutions. It is the idea which builds up and destroys administrations and Governments. Therefore the idea is a mighty force, even when it has no physical power behind it, even when it is not equipped with means, even when it has not organised itself in institutions and associations. Even then the idea moves freely abroad through the minds of thousands

of men and becomes a mighty force. It is a power which by the very fact of being impalpable assumes all the greater potency and produces all the more stupendous results. Therefore the right of free speech is cherished because it gives the idea free movement, it gives the nation that power which ensures its future development, which ensures success in any struggle for national life, however stripped it may be of means and instruments. It is enough that the idea is there and that the idea lives and circulates. Then the idea materializes itself, finds means and instruments, conquers all obstacles and goes on developing until it is expressed and established in permanent and victorious forms.

This right of free speech takes the form first of a free Press. It is the Press which on its paper wings carries the idea abroad from city to city, from province to

province until a whole continent is bound together by the links of one common aspiration. The right of public meeting brings men together. That is another force. They meet together on a common ground, moved by a common impulse, and as they stand or sit together in their thousands, the force of the idea within moves them by the magnetism of crowds. It moves from one to another till the hidden *shakti*, the mighty force within, stirred by the words thrown out from the platform travels from heart to heart and masses of men are not only moved by a common feeling and common aspiration, but by the force of that magnetism prepared to act and fulfil the idea. Then comes the right of association, the third of these popular rights. Given the common aspiration, common idea, common enthusiasm and common wish to act, it gives the instrument which binds men to

strive towards the common object by common and associated actions ; the bonds of brotherhood grow, energy increases, the idea begins to materialize itself to work in practical affairs and that which was yesterday merely an idea, merely a word thrown out by the eloquence of the orator, becomes a question of practical politics. It becomes work for it begins to work and fulfil itself. Therefore the people prize these rights, consider them a valuable asset, cling to and cherish and will not easily sacrifice them. Therefore they resent the arbitrary interference which takes from them what they consider indispensible for the preparation of national life.

Association is the mightiest thing in humanity ; it is the instrument by which humanity moves, it is the means by which it grows, it is the power by which it progresses towards its final development.

There are three ideas which are of supreme moment to human life and have become the watch-words of humanity. Three words have the power of remoulding nations and Governments, liberty, equality and fraternity. These words cast forth into being from the great stir and movement of the eighteenth century stir men because they point to the ultimate goal towards which human evolution ever moves. This liberty to which we progress is liberation out of a state of bondage. We move from a state of bondage to an original liberty. This is what our own religion teaches. This is what our own philosophy suggests as the goal towards which we move, *mukti* or *moksha*. We are bound in the beginning by a lapse from pre-existent freedom, we strive to shake off the bonds, we move forward and forward until we have achieved the ultimate emancipation,

that utter freedom of the soul, of the body or the whole man, that utter freedom from all bondage towards which humanity is always aspiring. We in India have found a mighty freedom within ourselves, our brother-men in Europe have worked towards freedom without. We have been moving on parallel lines towards the same end. They have found out the way to external freedom. We have found out the way to internal freedom. We meet and give to each other what we have gained. We have learned from them to aspire after external as they will learn from us to aspire after internal freedom.

Equality is the second term in the triple gospel. It is a thing which mankind has never accomplished. From inequality and through inequality we move, but it is to equality. Our religion, our philosophy set equality forward

as the essential condition of emancipation. All religions send us this message in a different form but it is one message. Christianity says we are all brothers, children of one God. Mahomedanism says we are the subjects and servants of one Allah, we are all equal in the sight of God. Hinduism says there is one without a second. In the high and the low, in the Brahmin and the Sudra, in the saint and the sinner, there is one Narayana, one God and He is the soul of all men. Not until you have realised Him, known Narayana, in all, and the Brahmin and the Sudra, the high and the low, the saint and the sinner are equal in your eyes, then and not until then you have knowledge, you have freedom, until then you are bound and ignorant. The equality which Europe has got is external political equality. She is now trying to achieve social equality.

Now-a-days their hard-earned political liberty is beginning to pall a little upon the people of Europe, because they have found it does not give perfect wellbeing or happiness and it is barren of the sweetness of brotherhood. There is no fraternity in this liberty. It is merely a political liberty. They have not either the liberty within or the full equality or the fraternity. So they are turning a little from what they have and they say increasingly, "Let us have equality, let us have the second term of the gospel towards which we strive." Therefore socialism is growing in Europe. Europe is now trying to achieve external equality as the second term of the gospel of mankind, the universal ideal. I have said that equality is an ideal even with us but we have not tried to achieve it without. Still we have learned from them to strive after political equality and in return for what they

have given us we shall lead them to the secret of the equality within.

Again there is fraternity. It is the last term of the gospel. It is the most difficult to achieve, still it is a thing towards which all religions call and human aspirations rise. There is discord in life, but mankind yearns for peace and love. This is the reason why the gospels which preach brotherhood spread quickly and excite passionate attachment. This was the reason of the rapid spread of Christianity. This was the reason of Buddhism's rapid spread in this country and throughout Asia. This is the essence of humanitarianism, the modern gospel of love for mankind. None of us have achieved our ideals, but human society has always attempted an imperfect and limited fulfilment of it. It is the nature, the *dharma* of humanity that it should be unwilling to stand alone. Every man

seeks the brotherhood of his fellow and we can only live by fraternity with others. Through all its differences and discords humanity is striving to become one.

In India in the ancient times we had many kinds of association, for our life was much more complex and developed than it became afterwards. We had our political associations. We had our commercial associations, our educational, our religious associations. As in Europe, so in India men united together for many interests and worked in association for common ideals. But by the inroads of invasion and calamity our life became broken and desintegrated. Still, though we lost much, we had our characteristic forms in which we strove to achieve that ideal of association and unity. In our society we had organised a common village life. It was a one and single village life in which every man

felt himself to be something, a part of a single organism. We had the joint family by which we tried to establish the principle of association in our family life. We have not in our social developments followed the path which Europe has followed. We have never tended to break into scattered units. The principle of association, the attempt to organize brotherhood was dominant in our life. We had the organisation of caste of which now-a-days we hear such bitter complaints. It had no doubt many and possibly inherent defects, but it was an attempt, however imperfect, to base society upon the principle of association, the principle of closely organising a common life founded on common ideas, common feelings, common tendencies, a common moral discipline and sense of corporate honour. Then we had an institution which in its

form was peculiar to India which helped to bind men together in close brotherhood who had a common *guru* or the intiation into a common religious fraternity. All these we had. Then the impact of Europe come upon us and one by one these institutions began to be broken. Our village life is a thing of the past. The village has lost its community, it has lost its ideals, has lost that mutual cordiality and binding together by an intimate common life which held it up and made its life sweet and wholesome. Everywhere we see in the village moral deterioration and material decay. Our joint family has been broken. We are scattering into broken units and brother no longer looks upon brother. There is no longer the bond of love which once held us together, because the old ties and habit of association are being broken up. Our

caste has lost its reality. The life has gone from within it and it is no longer an institution which helps towards unity, a common life or any kind of brotherhood. For once the idea is broken, the ideal within which is the principle of life is impaired, the form breaks up and nothing can keep it together. Therefore we find all these things perishing.

Well, we have been losing these things which were part of our associated life. But on the other hand we looked at the civilised nations of the West who are rushing upon us and breaking our society to pieces, and we saw that in those nations there were other centres of association, other means of uniting together. However imperfectly we began to seize upon them and try to use them, our life in the nineteenth century was a weak and feeble life. It had no ideals, no mighty impulses behind to drive or uplift it. It

was bewildered and broken by the forces that came upon it ; it did not know how to move and in what direction to move. It tried to take whatever it could from the life of the rulers. It strove to take their political associations and develop that principle of association. But our political associations had a feeble life bound together only by a few common interests which by ineffective means they tried to establish or protect. Political association among us led to very little action, for it was an association which looked mainly to others for help and did not look to the sources of strength within. These and other kinds of associations which we then tried to form tended mainly in one direction. They were institutions for the exchange of thought, associations for the spread of knowledge, by which we instinctively but imperfectly tried to encourage and express

the growing idea that was within us. This was the one real value of most of our political associations. Then there came the flood of national life, the mighty awakening which appeared first in Bengal. The principle of association began to take a new form, it began to assume a new life. It no longer remained a feeble instrument for the expression of the growing idea within us, it began to become an instrument indeed. It began to become a power. How did this new kind of association grow and to what objects did it address itself? The movement was not planned by any human brain, it was not foreseen by any human foresight. It came of itself, it came, as a flood comes, as a storm comes. There had been slow preparations which we did not institute or understand. These preparations were mainly among the young men, the rising generation,

the hope of India. There the spirit first awoke. At first it was not what we would call an association ; it was only a temporary union of young men for a temporary cause. They called themselves by a name which has since become terrible to many of our friends of the Anglo-Indian Press. They called themselves volunteers. For what did they volunteer? They volunteered for service to the representatives of the nation who came together to deliberate for the good of the people. This is how it first came, as an idea of service, the idea of service to those who worked for the motherland. Out of that grew the idea of service to the Mother. That was the first stage and the root from which it grew into our political life. Then there was another stream which rose elsewhere and joined the first. Our Anglo-Indian brothers to whom we owe so much and in so many

ways, did us this service also that they always scoffed at us as weaklings, men who were doomed to perpetual slavery and had always been a race of slaves because the people of Bengal had no martial gift, because they are not physically strong, because whoever chooses to strike them can strike and expect no blow in return. Therefore they were unfit for self-government, therefore they must remain slaves forever.

Our Anglo-Indian friends do not proclaim that theory now. They have changed their tone. For the spirit of the nation could bear the perpetual reproach no longer, the awakening *Brahman* within our young men could bear it no longer. Associations grew up for physical exercise and the art of self-defence and grew into those *Samities* which you have seen flourishing and recently suppressed. We were deter-

mined to wash the blemish away. If this was the blemish, to be weak, if this was the source of our degradation, we determined to remove it. We said, "Inspite of our physical weakness we have a strength within us which will remove our defects. We will be a race of brave and strong men. And that we may be so, we will establish everywhere these associations for physical exercise." That, one would think, was an innocent object and had nothing in it which anyone could look upon with suspicion. In fact we never thought that we should be looked upon with suspicion. It is the Europeans who have trumpeted physical culture as a most valuable national asset, the thing in which the English-speaking nations have preeminently excelled and which was the cause of their success and energy. That was the second seed of association.

There was a third seed and it was the thing for which our hearts yearned, the impulse towards brotherhood. A new kind of association came into being. That was the association which stood by labour and service and self-sacrifice, whose object of existence was to help the poor and nurse the sick. That was the flowering out of the Hindu religion. That was what Swami Vivekananda preached. That was what Aswni Kumar Dutt strove to bring into organised existence. That was what the Ram-krishna Mission, the Little Brothers of the Poor at Barisal tried to effect. This was the third way in which the new association established itself, the third seed of union, the third stream of ten-dency seeking fulfilment. All these streams of tendency came together they united themselves and have been in their broad united purifying current

the glory of our national life for the last three years. These *Samities* of young men by labour, by toil for the country, worship of the motherland held themselves together and spread the habit of association and the growth of brotherhood over the land. That is their spirit and ideal and that the way in which these associations have been established.

These are the associations which have now been crushed out of existence under a charge which cannot be and has not been maintained, a charge which has been disproved over and over again. It is a monstrous charge. The charge is that these associations are associations of hatred and violence, associations for rebellion and dacoity. That is the charge under which these associations have been suppressed. I have come recently back from Barisal. While I was

there I heard and read something of the work of the young men's association called the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* which with its network covered the whole district of Backergunge. This association grew out of a much smaller association started by Aswini Kumar Dutt called the Little Brothers of the Poor. What was the work commenced by these Little Brothers of the Poor? When epidemic broke out, when cholera appeared in all its virulence, the young-men of Barisal Brajamohon college went out in bands. They nursed the sick, the took charge of those who had been abandoned, they took up in their arms those whom they found lying on the roadside. They were not deterred in those moments by the prejudice of caste or by the difference of creed. The orthodox Brahmin took up in his bosom and nursed the Mahomedan and the

Namasudra. They did not mind the epidemic or fear to catch the contagion. They took up and nursed them as brother nurses brother, and thus they rescued many from the grasp of death. Aswini Kumar Dutt is in exile. How did he establish that influence, which caused him to be thought dangerous? By philanthrophy, by service. While ordinary colleges under the control of the Government were mere soulless machines where they cram a few packets of useless knowledge into the brain of the student, Aswini Kumar breathed his own lofty and noble soul into the Brajamohan College and made it an engine indeed out of which men were turned, in which hearts and souls were formed. He breathed his noble qualities into the young men who grew up in the cherishing warmth and sunlight of his influence. He made his college an

institution which in the essentials of education was a model for any educational institution in the world. This is how he built up his influence among the educated class. They followed him because he had shaped their souls between his hands. It is therefore that they loved him, it is therefore that they saw no fault in him. His influence among the common people was built up by love, service and philanthrophy. It was out of the seed he planted that the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* grew.

What was the work of this *Samiti*, the existence of which could no longer be tolerated in the interests of the peace and safety of the Empire. First of all it continued with that blessed work which the Little Brothers of the Poor had begun, nursing, serving, saving the poor, the sick and the suffering. They made it their ideal to see that there was

no sick man or sick woman or however low a class or depressed a caste, of whom it could be said that they went unhelped in their sickness in the Backergunge district. That was the first crime the association committed.

The second crime was this. These young men went from house to house seeking out the suffering and the hungry when famine broke out in the country. To those who were patiently famishing they brought succour, but they did more. There were many people who belonged to the respectable classes on whom the hand of famine laid. They would not go for help to the relief works ; they would not complain and show their misery to the world. The young men of Barisal sought out these cases and secretly, without injuring the feelings of the suffering, they gave help and saved men and women from starvation.

This was the second crime of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti.*

Then there was another. The social life of Bergal is full of discord and quarrels. Brother quarrels with brother and quarrels with bitter hatred. They carry their feud to the law-courts ; they sin against the Mother in themselves and in others ; they sow the seed of lasting enmity and hatred between their families. And beyond this there is the ruin, the impoverishment of persistent litigation. The young men of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* said, "This should not be tolerated anymore. We will settle their differences, we will make peace between brother and brother. We will say to our people, "If there is any dispute let us try to settle it first. If you are dissatisfied with our decision you can always go to the law-courts ; but let us try first." They tried, and

hundreds of cases were settled out of court and hundreds of these seeds of enmity and hatred were destroyed. Peace and love and brotherhood began to increase in the land. This was their third crime.

Their fourth offence is a great crime now-a-days. These young men had the hardihood to organise and help the progress of Swadeshi in the land. There was no violence. By love, by persuasion, by moral pressure, by appeals to the *Samaj* and the interests of the country, they did this work. They helped the growth, of our industries ; they helped it by organising the condition for their growth, the only condition in which these infant, these feeble and languishing industries can grow, the general determination to make our own goods and not the goods of others, to give preference to our Mother and not to any stranger. In no

other district of Bengal, in no other part of India was Swadeshi so well organised, so perfectly organised, so peacefully and quietly organised as in Barisal. That was the last and worst crime they committed. For these crimes they have been proclaimed, they have been forbidden to exist. This *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* carried organisation to a perfection which was not realised in other districts because it is not every district which can have an Aswini Kumar Dutt or a Satish Chandra Chatterjee. But the same impulse was there, the same tendencies were there. I do not know any single society of the kind in Bengal which has not made some attempt to help the people in times of famine or to bring succour to the sick and suffering or to remove quarrels and discord as well as to help the growth of Swadeshi by organising that exclusive

preference to which we have given the name of Boycott. These were general offences, common crimes.

But there was another thing that led to the suppression. This was an association that had that very dangerous and lethal weapon called the lathi. The use of the lathi as a means of self-defence was openly taught and acquired, and if that was not enough there was the imagination of a very highly imaginative police which saw hidden behind the lathi the bomb. Now nobody ever saw the bombs. But the police were quite equal to the occasion; they thought there might be bombs. And what if there were not? Their imagination was quite equal to realising any bomb that could not be materialised,—in *baitak-khanas* and elsewhere. The police suspected that the lathi was the father of the bomb. Their procedure was

simple with the simplicity of the highest detective genius. When they heard of a respectable-sized dacoity, they immediately began to reason it out. They said "Now why are there so many dacoities in the land? Obviously the lathi fathered the bomb and the bomb fathers the dacoities. Who have lathies? The *samities*, Therefore it is proved. The *Samites* are the dacoits." Our efficient police have always shown a wonderful ability. Generally when a dacoity is committed, the police are nowhere near. They have not altered that; the golden rule still obtains. They are not to be found when the dacoity takes place. They only come up when the dacoity is long over and say "Well this is the work of the National volunteers." They look round to see what is the nearest *Samiti* and, if they find any which has been especially

active in furthering Swadeshi, they say, "Here is the *Samiti*. And if there is anyone who was somewhat active in connection with the work of the *Samiti* they say at once "Well, here is the man." And if he is a boy of any age from twelve upwards, so much the better. The man or boy is instantly arrested and put into hajat. After rotting there some days or weeks, the police can get no evidence and the man has to be released. That does not frighten the courageous police ; they immediately arrest the next likely person belonging to the *Samiti*. So they go on persevering until they lose all hope of finding or creating evidence. Sometimes they persist, and members of the *Samities*, sometimes mere boys, have to rot in hajat until the case goes up to a court of justice and the judge looks at the case and after he has patiently

heard it out, has to ask, "Well but where is the evidence."

Formerly, you may remember, those of you who have lived in the villages, that wherever there was any man in a village who was physically strong the police wrote down his name in the black book of budmashes. He was at once put down as an undesirable. That was the theory, that a man who is physically strong must be a hooligan. Physical development was thus stamped out of our villages and the physique of our villagers began to deteriorate until this movement of *Akhras* and *Samities* came into existence to rescue the nation from absolute physical deterioration and decay. But this was an immortal idea in the mind of our police and it successfully effected transmigration. It took this form, that these *Samities* encourage physical education, they encourage lathi-play, therefore

they must be the nurseries of violence and dacoity and factories of bombs. Our rulers seem to have accepted this idea of the police. So perhaps this is the crime these *Samities* have committed. Nothing has been proved of all this easy theorizing. It is yet to be known when and where the bomb has been associated with the work of the *Samities* in Eastern Bengal. There was indeed a great dacoity in Eastern Bengal and the theory was started that it was done by one of the *Samities*, but even our able detective police were unable to prove any association in that case. They did catch hold of some young men apparently on principle. There is a confidential rule,—it is cofidential but the public have come to know of it,—that "somebody must be punished for the day's work." That was the circular of a Lieutenant-Governor of this province

and the police no doubt thought it ought to be observed faithfully. So they caught hold of some likely men and the people so charged were about to be "punished for the day's work ;" but fortunately for them a judge sat upon the High Court Bench who remembered that there was such a thing as law and another thing called evidence, things whose existence was in danger of being forgotten in this country. He applied the law, he insisted on having the evidence, and you all know the result.

These associations, which were the expression of our growing national life and the growing feeling of brotherhood among us, did such work as I have described, and these were the ways of the law, in which they did their work. Still they have been suppressed not because they were criminal, but because their existence was inconvenient. It

has always been the case that when established institutions of government were unwilling to move with the times, they have looked with suspicion upon the right of association and the right of free speech, they have discouraged the right of a free press and the right of public meeting. By destroying these instruments they have thought to arrest the progress which they did not love. This policy has never permanently succeeded, yet it is faithfully repeated with that singular stupidity which seems natural to the human race. The sword of Damocles hangs over our Press. It is nominally free, but we never know when even that simulacrum of freedom may not be taken from it. There is a law of sedition so beautifully vague and comprehenisve that no one knows when he is committing sedition and when he is not. There is a law against the preaching of violence

which enables a Magistrate whenever he chooses to imagine that your article advocates violence, to seize your machine. The Press is taken away and of course the case goes up to the High Court, but by that time the paper suffers so much that it becomes difficult or impossible for it to rear its head again. There is a notification by which as I pointed out in Beadon Square the other day, a meeting becomes peaceful or criminal not according to the objects or to the behaviour of the people assembled but according as the sun is up or the sun is down. There is a law of proclamation by which our right of association can be taken from us whenever they please by a stroke of the pen. The British people have certain traditions, they have certain ways of thinking and fixed ideas of which they cannot entirely get rid. It is for that reason they have not yet

passed a law entirely and expressly suppressing the freedom of the Press or the right of public meeting. But even that may come. What should we do under these circumstances? We see the sword of Damocles hanging lower and lower over our heads. Our association may be declared criminal and illegal at any moment. The executive can at any moment it pleases confiscate our Press. We ourselves are liable to be arrested and harassed at a moment without evidence, "on suspicion", by an irresponsible and apparently unpunishable police. Under whatever difficulties and whatever restrictions may be put upon us, we must of course go on. But the restrictions may be greater in future. The sword is hanging lower and lower over our heads. Still we cannot stop in our work. The force within us cannot be baulked, the call cannot be denied. Whatever penalty

be inflicted on us for the crime of patriotism, whatever peril we may have to face in the fulfilment of our duty to our nation, we must go on, we must carry on the country's work.

After all what is an association? An association is not a thing which cannot exist unless we have a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman and a Secretary. An association is not a thing which cannot meet unless it has its fixed meeting place. Association is a thing which depends upon the feeling and the force within us. Association means unity, association means brotherhood, association means binding together in one common work. Where there is life, where there is self-sacrifice, where there is disinterested and unselfish toil, where there are things within us, the work cannot stop. It cannot stop even if there be one man who is at all risks prepared to carry it

on. It is only after all the question of working, it is not a question of the means of work. It is simply a question of working together in common in one way or in another. It is a matter of asking each other from time to time what work there is to be performed to-day and what is the best way of performing it, what are the best means of helping our countrymen, what work we shall have to do to-morrow or the day after and having settled that to do it at the appointed time and in the appointed way. That is what I mean when I say that it is a question of working and not of means. It is not that these things cannot be done except by the forms which our European education has taught us to value. Whatever may be the difficulties we can go on with the work. The association that we shall have will be the association of brothers who are united heart to heart, of fellow-workers joined

hand-in-hand in a common labour, the association of those who have a common motherland. It is the association of the whole country, to which every son of India and every son of Bengal ought by the duty of his birth to belong, an association which no force can break up, the association of an unity which grows closer day by day, of an impulse that comes from on high and has drawn us together in order that we might realise brotherhood, in order that the Indian nation may be united and united not merely in the European way, not merely by the common self-interest, but united by love for the common country, united by the ideal of brotherhood, united by the feeling that we are all sons of one common Mother who is also the manifestation of God in an united humanity. That is the association which has been coming into being, and has not been destroyed, since the move-

ment came into existence. This is the mighty association, which unites the people of West Bengal with the people of East and North Bengal and defies partition, because it embraces every son of the land,—*bhai bhai ek thain*, or brother and brother massed inseparably together. This is the ideal that is abroad and is waking more and more consciously within us. It is not merely a common self-interest. It awakens God within us and says, "you are all one, you are all brothers. There is one place in which you all meet and that is your common Mother. That is not merely the soil. That is not merely a division of land but it is a living thing. It is the Mother in whom you move and have your being. Realise God in the nation, realise God in your brother, realise God in a wide human association." This is the ideal by which humanity is moved all over the world, the ideal which

is the *dharma* of the Kaliyuga, and it is the ideal of love and service which the young men of Bengal so thoroughly realised, love and service to your brothers, love and service to your Mother and this is the association we are forming, the great association of the people of Bengal and of the whole people of India. It increases and will grow forever inspite of all the obstacles that rise in its way. When the spirit of Aswini Kumar Dutt comes into every leader of the people and the nation becomes one great *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* then it will be accomplished. This is forever our national ideal and in its strength our nation will rise whatever law they make ; our nation will rise and live by the force of the law of its own being. For the fiat of God has gone out to the Indian nation, "Unite, be free, be one, be great".

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## COLLEGE SQUARE SPEECH.

*The following is the full text of the speech of Babu Aurobindo Ghose who presided at the meeting in College Square, Calcutta.*

I thank you for the kindly welcome that you have accorded to me. The time fixed by the law for the breaking up of the meetings is also at hand, and I am afraid I have disappointed one or two speakers by getting up so soon. But there is just one word that has to be spoken to-day.

### SIR E. BAKER'S SPEECH

Recently a speech has been made in the Bengal Legislative Council by the L.-G. of this province, a speech which I

think is one of the most unfortunate and most amazing that have ever been delivered by a ruler in his position. The occasion of the speech was a reference to certain murders that have recently been committed in London. Those murders have been committed by a young man with whom there has been no proof that any other man in India or in England is connected, no proof that any conspiracy has been behind him. Not only so but the Police in London have declared that so far as their evidence goes they find that the murder was dictated by personal and not political motives. That crime is still the subject of a trial which has not been closed. Was this the time,—was this the occasion for the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to rise from his seat in the Legislative Council and practically associate, practically make the whole country responsible for the

crime of a single isolated youth in London? Not only so, but the Lieutenant-Governor, in referring to the crime said that there had been plenty of denunciation in this country but those denunciations did not go far. And he wanted from us one thing more and that was co-operation. He wants co-operation from the whole community. He further saddled his request with the threat that if this co-operation were not obtained, steps would have to be taken in which there would be no room for nice discrimination between the innocent and the guilty.

The murders that have been committed in Bengal have been sufficiently proved by the failure of case after case to be the acts of isolated individuals. There has been only a single instance which is still *subjudice*, and if it even were fully established, it would only

prove that the crime was done in one case by a small group of men. Under such circumstances what is the co-operation that the L.G. demands from us? He will not be satisfied if we denounce and dissociate ourselves from the crime. He wants co-operation. It is at least desirable that he should name and describe the co-operation he insists on before he carries out the remarkable threat with which he has sought to enforce his demand. There has been much talk recently, in a wider sense, of co-operation. Now, gentlemen, we are a people who demand self-government. We have a government in which we are not at all associated and over which we have no control. What is the co-operation a government of this kind can really demand from us? It can only demand from us obedience to the law, co-operation in keeping the law and observing

peace and order. What further co-operation can they expect from us? Even in the matter which the L.-G. has mentioned, we are at a loss to see how a people circumstanced like ourselves can help him. Still I have a proposal to make. I think there is only one way by which these unfortunate occurrences can be stopped. The ruler of Bengal in his speech spoke in approval of a certain speech made by Mr. Gokhale at Poona recently. In that speech Mr. Gokhale declared that the ideal of independence was an ideal which no sane man could hold. He said that it was impossible to achieve independence by peaceful means and the people who advocate the peaceful methods of passive resistance are men who, out of cowardice, do not speak out the thought that is in their heart. That idea of Mr. Gokhale's has been con-

tradicted beforehand by the Sessions Judge of Alipore and even an Anglo-Indian paper was obliged to say that Mr. Gokhale's justification of the repressions on the ground that stern and relentless repression was the only possible attitude the Government could adopt towards the ideal of independence was absurd because the ideals and the thoughts of a nation could not be punished. This was a very dangerous teaching which Mr. Gokhale introduced into his speech, that the ideal of independence—whether we call it Swaraj or autonomy or Colonial Self-Government, because these two things in a country circumstanced like India meant in practice the same (loud applause),—cannot be achieved by peaceful means, Mr. Gokhale knows or ought to know, that this ideal which he decries is deeply-rooted in the minds of thou-

sands of the people and cannot be driven out. He has told the ardent hearts which cherish this ideal of independence, and are determined to strive towards it that their ideal can only be achieved by violent means, If any doctrine can be dangerous, if any teacher can be said to have uttered words dangerous to the peace of the country, it is Mr. Gokhale himself. (Loud cheers.) We have told the people that there is a peaceful means of achieving independence in whatever form we aspire to it. We have said that by self-help by passive resistance we can achieve it. We have told the young men of our country "Build up your own industries, build up your own schools and colleges, settle your own disputes. You are always told that you are not fit for self-government, Show by example that you are fit to govern yourselves, show

it by developing self-government through self-help and not by depending upon others." There is a second limb to that policy and it is passive resistance. Passive resistance means two things. It means first that in certain matters we shall not co-operate with the Government of this country until it gives us what we consider our rights. Secondly, if we are persecuted, if the plough of repression is passed over us, we shall meet it not by violence, but by suffering, by passive resistance, by lawful means. We have not said to our youngmen. "when you are repressed, retaliate" ; we have said, "suffer". Now we are told that by doing so we are encouragers of sedition and anarchism. We have been told by Anglo-Indian papers that by speaking in Beadon Square and other places on patriotism and the duty of suffering we en-

courage sedition. We are told that in preaching passive resistance we are encouraging the people to violate law and order and are fostering violence and rebellion. The contrary is the truth. We are showing the people of this country in passive resistance the only way in which they can satisfy their legitimate aspiration without breaking the law and without resorting to violence. This is the only way we can find to co-operate in maintaining peace and order. The co-operation we expect from the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, not from the Government of this country in return, is that they will respect the primary rights of the people of this country, they will respect the right of public meeting and the right of a free press and the right of free association. If they co-operate so far then we can assure them that this movement will advance on peaceful lines and the thing

which troubles them will cease for ever. But the L.-G. says that measures will be passed which will observe no nice discrimination between the innocent and the guilty. A more cynical statement has seldom issued from a ruler in the position of Sir Edward Baker. If the threat is carried out, who will be the gainers? I do not deny that it may for a time stop our public activities. It may force the school of peaceful self-development and passive resistance to desist for a while from its activities at least in their present form. But who will gain by it? Not the Government neither Mr. Gokhale and his school of passive co-operation. It is the very terrorists, the very anarchists, whom you wish to put down, who will gain by it. It will remove from the people their one hope, but it will give the terrorists a fresh incentive and it will teach the violent hearts,

the undisciplined and ardent minds a very dangerous lesson that there is no peaceful way to the fulfilment of their aspirations and the consequence will be such as one trembles to contemplate. I trust the threat will never be carried out. I trust that the Government will be ruled by wise counsels and consider the matter more carefully. There are ominous signs and it seems as if measures were about to be passed which will put an end to the right of public meeting and the public expression of our feelings. But I trust that wiser counsels will yet prevail. The Government should remember that it stands dissociated from the people by its very constitution. If it wants co-operation it cannot get the co-operation which is simply another name for passive obedience. That is the doctrine which is being taught to day, the doctrine of the divine right of officials and the obligation on the people

of passive obedience. That is a doctrine which no modern nation can accept. No modern nation can accept the extinction of its legitimate and natural hopes. Co-operation can only be given if the Government which is now alien becomes our own, if the people have a share in it, not merely in name, not merely by the right of talk in the legislative council, not merely by apparent concessions, but by getting some measures of control in the matter of legislation, in the expenditure of the taxes they are called on to pay for the maintenance of the administration, if, in short, they can be given some starting-point from which in future the Government of the country can be developed into a Government of the people. That is the only condition upon which the co-operation, of which we hear so much now-a-days, can be given. Without it co-operation is a satire, it is a parody. It

is the co-operation in which one side acts and the other side merely says, "yes" which is demanded of us. We cannot give our sanction to such co-operation. So long as even that little of substantial self-goverment is not conceded to us, we have no choice but to cleave firmly to passive resistance as the only peaceful path to the realisation of our legitimate aspirations. We cannot sacrifice our country. We canot give up the ideal that is dear to our heart. We cannot sacrifice our Mother. If you take away our primary rights all that is left for us is passive resistance and peacefully to suffer, peacefully to refuse the parody of co-operation which we are asked to give.

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## KUMARTULI SPEECH.

Babu Aurobindo Ghose rose amidst loud cheers and said that when he consented to attened the meeting, he never thought that he would make any speech. In fact, he was asked by the organisers of the meeting simply to be present there. He was told that it would be sufficient if he came and took his seat there. Now he found his name among the speakers. The Chairman of the meeting, whose invitation was always on order, had called upon him to speak.

### Two Reasons for Silence

He had two reasons as to why he ought not to speak. The first was that

since he was again at liberty to address his countrymen he had made a good many speeches and he had exhausted everything that he had to say and he did not like to be always repeating the same thing from the platform. He was not an orator and what he spoke was only in the hope that some of the things he might say might go to the hearts of his countrymen and that he might see some effect of his speeches in their action. Merely to come again and again to the platform and the table was not a thing he liked. Therefore he preferred to see what his countrymen did.

Another reason was that unfortunately he was unable to address them in their mother language and therefore he always felt averse to inflict an English speech on a Bengalee audience.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATIONS

That evening he wished to speak only a few words because he owed an explanation to his friends. The form that his activities had taken after he had come from jail had disappointed a great many.

## THE HARE STREET FRIEND

There was first a great friend of his own and India's who lived in Hare Street—(laughter)—and he was very much disappointed by the form of his (the speaker's) activities. So great was this friend's anxiety for the Indians that that anxiety had cost him Rs. 15,000 (A voice: Another Rs. 7,500 as costs). In his anxiety to help the Indians he followed the ancient maxim that truth meant only whatever was for the good of others. Unfortunately the Judge would

not take that large view of the matter. And so our friend was silently suffering. (A voice: "Passive resistance." Laughter.) His friend said that he had heard that Sj. Aurobindo Ghose has promised to devote himself to literature and religion, and it was strange that Mr. Ghose should go to Jhalakati and make speeches on Swadeshi and boycott.

He (speaker) was devoting himself to literature and religion. He was writing as he wrote before on Swaraj and Swadeshi, and that was a form of literature. He was speaking on Swaraj and Swadeshi and that was part of his religion. (Cheers.)

### THE POLICE

Another quarters he had disappointed was the police. (Laughter.) He had received a message from them saying that he was opening his mouth too much.

He gave an interview to a press representative and told him something mainly about the food and accommodation in the Government Hotel at Alipore. (Laughter.) He was immediately informed that that was a great indiscretion on his part and that it would bring trouble on him. When he went to Jhalakati the attentions of the police pursued him. They told the Barisal people and the local merchants that if he (speaker) was taken there the District Conference would be stopped. They got the answer that that was not in the peoples hands, but the coming of Aurobindo Ghose was in their hands and Aurobindo Babu would come whatever the consequences to the Conference. And the Conference did take place. After his return he was again informed that he was qualifying for deportation —his fault was that he was appearing

too much in public meetings. Some of the best loved workers in the country had already been deported and the first reason alleged was that they had been financing assassination and troubling the peace of the country. When the Government in Parliament were heckled out of that position, it escaped as if by accident from one of the members that one very important reason for the deportation was that the deportees had taken part in the Swadeshi agitation. This was borne out by the suggestion he had received, and it seemed that it was by supporting the Swadeshi that they laid themselves open to deportation. Now, he had an unfortunate temper and it was natural he did not like to be intimidated. Intimidation only made him persist in doing his duty more obstinately, and if he spoke to-day, it was partly because of that friendly suggestion.

### The Madras Friend.

There were other friends who were nearer to us than those he had mentioned, but they also were dissatisfied with his activities. There was, for instance, a friend in Madras—"The Indian Patriot"—who invited him to give up politics and become a "Sannyasi". This anxiety for his spiritual welfare somewhat surprised him at the time, but he was yet more surprised by the persistence of his friend's anxiety. One reason for suggesting inactivity to him was that he was imperilling his safety. That was a very singular reason to put before a public man for shirking his duty.

### The Reforms.

Another reason for his Madras friend's advice was that he (speaker) was speaking against the reforms. It appeared that he ( speaker ) was guilty of a great error

in throwing a doubt on the reality of the reforms. Whenever any offer was made to the country by the officials, it was a habit of his to look at it a little closely. It was a part of English politeness, and also a principle of their commerce that when a present was given or an article sold it was put in a very beautiful case and its appearance made very attractive. But his long residence in England had led him to know that there were a kind of goods, called Brummagem goods, and that was synonym for shoddy. He looked into the reforms and they seemed to him to belong to that class. Then there was another point. He was a little jealous of gifts from that quarter because the interest of the people and the officials were not the same. The position was such that if reforms give any increase and enlargement of the people's rights

or rather a beginning in that direction—for at present the people had no real right or share in the government—any beginning of the kind meant a shrinking of bureaucratic powers. It was not likely that the officials would readily give up any power to which they cling. Therefore when reform was offered he always asked himself how far that was a real beginning of self-government or how far it was something given to them to draw their attention from their real path to salvation. It seemed to him that the reforms give them not the slightest real share in the government of the country, but instead they would merely throw an apple of fresh discord among them. They would only be a cause of the fresh strike and want of unity. Those who are led away by the reforms would not only diminish the powers of this country but led others into the wrong path.

## THE POONA SPEECH.

Only 2 or 3 days ago, his fears were confirmed. Certain utterances had come from one from whom they were least expected—one who had served and made sacrifices for the country. He said that those who spread the gospel of Swaraj were mad men outside the lunatic asylum and those who preached passive resistance as means of gaining Swaraj were liars who did not speak out their real thoughts to save their skin ; he invited the country to denounce them as enemies of the country and of its progress and justified all that the Government had done by saying that the only attitude the Government could take was stern and heartless repression.

Well if it were true that only fear made them take to passive resistance ; if they flinched now from the boycott

because some had been deported ; if they ceased to proclaim the ideal of Swaraj ; if they ceased to preach the boycott, then only it would be true that they had adopted an ideal that they could not reach and proclaim means of reaching it in which they did not believe, because they were anxious to save their skin.

He had heard many warnings recently that those who persisted in public agitation would be deported. For himself, and he was not a model of courage, residence for the best part of a year in a solitary cell had been an experience which took away all the terrors of deporation. ( Cheers ). If he had ever had any fear, the kindness of the authorities in giving him that experience had cured him of them. ( Laughter. ) He had found that with the ideal of Swaraj to uphold and the *mantra* of "Bande Mataram" in the heart, there was nothing so very terrible

in jail or deportation. That was the first thing he would like to impress on them as the result of his experience. Imprisonment in a righteous cause was not so terrible as it seemed, suffering was not so difficult to bear as our anticipations made it out. The prize to which they aspired was the greatest to which a nation could aspire and if a price was asked of them, they ought not to shrink from paying it.

### THE MIXED POLICY.

He was not afraid of deportations and imprisonment but he was afraid of the hand who patted them on the back and the voice that soothed. The mixed policy of repression and kindness was the thing he feared most. The whip was still there uplifted though it was not just now falling upon them, but the other hand was

held out to stroke the head and soothe. This offer of conciliation in one hand and the pressure of repression in the other might have the effect of slackening their efforts and bewildering their intelligence. They must not forget that nine of their most devoted workers were rotting in British jail under the name of deportation. What was the meaning of conciliation when men like Aswini Kumar Dutt, Krishna Kumar Mitter and others were taken away from them and not restored? What kind of conciliation was this which was offered us while this great wrong remained unremedied? Who could trust such a conciliation?

### THE BOYCOTT.

Let them not forget what they had set out to do when they declared the boycott. They had determined to undo the partition

of Bengal. The partition still remained. So long as that remained, should they listen to the soothing voice ? Should they give up the boycott or slacken the boycott ? They had determined to revive the industries of their country. They had determined to save their countrymen from chronic starvation, but that had not yet been accomplished. Should they leave the boycott or slacken the boycott while it remained unaccomplished ? Would the reforms save the country from that chronic starvation ? When famine came the Government opened relief works as soon as its local officials could bring themselves to acknowledge that there was a famine in the land. That saved a number of lives, but it did not save us from the misery, the mortality, the thousands of ruined homes. That did not strike at the root of the chronic starvation and famine ; Swadeshi and boycott alone could strike

at the root. So long as the exploitation of the country by foreign trade remained, would they injure their country by giving up or slackening the boycott? Would they be faithful to the country if under such circumstances they were ready to listen to the soothing voice? If they did that, it would be because they could not bear the sufferings and pay the price of raising up their country and they would prove themselves unworthy of the freedom to which they aspired. The time was a critical one and when the question was once more put to them they must always be ready to answer.

## 7TH OF AUGUST.

The 7th of August was very near. It was the birthday of the boycott, the birthday of the new spirit in India.

It was not much they had to do. Only once more to utter the sacred *mantra* of

Bande Mataram, once more to declare that India was not lifeless, that Bengal was faithful to the vow she had made. He waited to see what would happen on that date in Bengal, whether they would attend in their hundreds or in their thousands or in their tens of thousands. It was Bengal on which the burden of the struggle fell because she first had preached the Gospel, and she first had had the courage to bear suffering for the Gospel. Therefore God had given them the privilege to bear the greater part of the suffering. By so doing, he had shown a great love towards Bengal. The fate of India was with the Bengalees. As they answered the question put to them, the future would be determined. It was not the first time the question had been put or the last time it would be put for it was not the crisis of a moment but a protracted struggle. The question was with them always and

every moment their responsibility for answering it in the right sense remained with them. But especially on such a day as the seventh of August the responsibility was great. They waited to see what would be the answer to the question.

CONCLUSION

But even if the response were less than he expected, even if the demoralisation he had heard of were real and there were a shrinkage in the numbers that attended that would not discouarge him.

So long as in this country there were a few who had the courage of their faith, so long as there were even a few who were ready to proclaim their faith and live it, there was no fear for the ultimate triumph of the faithful.

It is described in the Christian Bible how the cult of the true faith was almost

extinguished by persecution and all Israel turned from Jehovah to foreign idols and even the chief prophet of the faith thought himself alone and hid his head. God called to him to go forth and strive with the priests of Baal. "Always" He said, "in the nation I have chosen there are some who confess me and now too in this nation there are seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal. So always in this Bengal which God had chosen there would always be several thousands who would be true to the faith and never bow the knee to false gods. If the voices that proclaimed it were silenced, if the organisers were taken away, others would rise in their place, if those were taken, still others would come, if few, yet faithful. Some would always be left who would not be afraid to utter the name of their Mother. Some would still preserve the

faith and preach the gospel "Their's was the blood of *Raktabij*." ( Laughter and cheers ) For their action sprang from no passing or material interest but from something that was imperishable and perennial. It was something which the fire could not burn and the sword could not kill ; the winds of repression could not wither and all the waters could not drown. For all that there was a great importance in the nation's response on the 7th of August. On our action now it depended whether salvation came swiftly or were put off and the struggle and suffering prolonged for decades.

On their fidelity to Swadeshi, to Boycott, to passive resistance rested the hope of a peaceful and spiritual salvation. On that it depended whether India would give the example unprecedented in history of a revolution worked out by moral force

and peaceful pressure. For on the 7th August the strength of the nation would be measured, not the numerical strength, but the moral strength which was greater than any physical. He appealed to the audience to see that no one of the thousands assembled remained absent on that day.

They must remember that it was a day of worship and consecration, when the mother looked upon her assembled children. She would ask on this 7th of August how many were faithful to her and whether after her centuries of aflic-tion she had still years of suffering to endure, or by the love and strength of her children might expect the approach-ing hour of her felicity. If they were unfaithful now let them remember to whom they would be unfaithful,—to themselves, to their vows, to the future of their country, to God, to their Mother.

# APPENDIX.

## AN OPEN LETTER TO MY COUNTRYMEN.

The position of a public man who does his duty in India to-day, is too precarious to permit of his being sure of the morrow. I have recently come out of a year's seclusion from work for my country on a charge which there was not a scrap of reliable evidence to support, but my acquittal is no security either against the trumping up of a fresh accusation or the arbitrary law of deportation which dispenses with the inconvenient formality of a charge and the still more inconvenient necessity of producing evidence. Especially with the hounds of the Anglo-Indian Press

barking at our heels and continually clamouring for Government to remove every man who dares to raise his voice to speak of patriotism and its duties, the liberty of the person is held on a tenure which is worse than precarious. Rumour is strong that a case for my deportation has been submitted to the Government by the Calcutta Police and neither the tranquillity of the country nor the scrupulous legality of our procedure is a guarantee against the contingency of the all-powerful fiat of the Government watchdogs silencing scruples on the part of those who advise at Simla. Under such circumstances I have thought it well to address this letter to my countrymen, and especially to those who profess the principles of the Nationalist party, on the needs of the present and the policy of the future. In case of my deportation it may help to guide some who would

be uncertain of their course of action, and, if I do not return from it, it may stand as my last political will and testament to my countrymen.

The situation of the Nationalist party is difficult but not impossible. The idea of some that the party is extinct because its leaders are sentenced or deported, is an error which comes of looking only at the surface. The party is there, not less powerful and pervading than before, but in want of a policy and a leader. The first it may find, the second only God can give it. All great movements wait for their Godsent leader, the willing channel of His force, and only when he comes, move forward triumphantly to their fulfilment. The men who have led hitherto have been strong men of high gifts and commanding genius, great enough to be the protagonists of any other movement, but even they were not

sufficient to fulfil one which is the chief current of a worldwide revolution. Therefore the Nationalist party, custodians of the future, must wait for the man who is to come, calm in the midst of calamity, hopeful under defeat, sure of eventual emergence and triumph and always mindful of the responsibility which they owe not only to their Indian posterity but to the world.

Meanwhile the difficulties of our situation ask for bold yet wary walking. The strength of our position is moral, not material. The whole of the physical strength in the country belongs to the established authority which our success would, so far as its present form is concerned, abolish by transforming it out of all possibility of recognition. It is natural that it should use all its physical strength to prevent, so long as it can, that transformation. The whole of the

moral strength of the country is with us, Justice is with us, nature is with us. The law of God which is higher than any human justifies our action, youth is for us, the future is ours. On that moral strength we must rely for our survival and eventual success. We must not be tempted by any rash impatience into abandoning the ground on which we are strong and venturing on the ground on which we are weak. Our ideal is an ideal which no law can condemn : our chosen methods are such that no modern Government can expressly declare them illegal without forfeiting its claim to be considered a civilized administration. To that ideal and to those methods we must firmly adhere and rely on them alone for our eventual success. A respect for the law is a necessary quality for endurance as a nation and it has always been a marked characteristic of the Indian

people. We must therefore scrupulously observe the law while taking every advantage both of the protection it gives and the latitude it still leaves for pushing forward our cause and our propaganda. With the stray assasinations which have troubled the country we have no concern, and, having once clearly and firmly dissociated ourselves from them, we need notice them no farther. They are the rank and noxious fruit of a rank and noxious policy and until the authors of that policy turn from their errors, no human power can prevent the poison-tree from bearing according to its kind. We who have no voice either in determining the laws or their administration, are helpless in the matter. To deportation and proclamation, the favourite instruments of men incapable of a wise and strong rule, we can only oppose a steady and fearless adherence

to the propagandism and practice of a lawful policy and a noble ideal.

Our ideal is that of Swaraj or absolute autonomy free from foreign control. We claim the right of every nation to live its own life by its own energies according to its own nature and ideals. We reject the claim of aliens to force upon us a civilisation inferior to our own or to keep us out of our inheritance on the untenable ground of a superior fitness. While admitting the stains and defects which long subjection has induced upon our native capacity and energy, we are conscious of that capacity and energy reviving in us. We point to the unexampled national vigour which has preserved the people of this country through centuries of calamity and defeat, to the great actions of our forefathers continued even to the other day, to the many men of intellect and character such as no other

nation in a subject condition has been able to produce, and we say that a people capable of such unheard-of vitality is not one which can be put down as a nation of children and incapables. We are in no way inferior to our forefathers. We have brains, we have courage, we have an infinite and various national capacity. All we need is a field and an opportunity. That field and opportunity can only be provided by a national government a free society and a great Indian culture. So long as these are not conceded to us, we can have no other use for our brains courage and capacity than to struggle unceasingly to achieve them.

Our ideal of Swaraj involves no hatred of any other nation nor of the administration which is now established by law in this country. We find a bureaucratic administration, we wish to make it democratic ; we find an alien

government, we wish to make it indigenous; we find a foreign control, we wish to render it Indian. They lie who say that this aspiration necessitates hatred and violence. Our ideal of patriotism proceeds on the basis of love and brotherhood and it looks beyond the unity of the nation and envisages the ultimate unity of mankind. But it is an unity of brothers, equals and freemen that we seek, not the unity of master and serf, of devourer and devoured. We demand the realisation of our corporate existence as a distinct race and nation because that is the only way in which the ultimate brotherhood of humanity can be achieved, not by blotting out individual peoples and effacing outward distinctions, but by removing the internal obstacles to unity, the causes of hatred, malice and misunderstanding. A struggle for our rights does not involve hatred of those

who mistakenly deny them. It only involves a determination to suffer and strive, to speak the truth boldly and without respect of persons, to use every lawful means of pressure and every source of moral strength in order to establish ourselves and disestablish that which denies the law of progress.

Our methods are those of self-help and passive resistance. To unite and organise ourselves in order to show our efficiency by the way in which we can develop our industries, settle our individual disputes, keep order and peace on public occasions, attend to questions of sanitation, help the sick and suffering, relieve the famine-stricken, work out our intellectual, technical and physical education, evolve a Government of our own for our own internal affairs so far as that could be done without disobeying the law or questioning the legal authority

of the bureaucratic administration, this was the policy publicly and frankly adopted by the Nationalist party. In Bengal we had advanced so far as to afford distinct proof of our capacity in almost all these respects and the evolution of a strong united and well-organised Bengal had become a near and certain prospect. The internal troubles which came to a head at Surat and the repressive policy initiated immediately afterwards, culminating in the destruction of our organisations and the effective intimidation of Swadeshi workers and sympathizers by official underlings, have both been serious checks to our progress and seem for the moment to have postponed the realisation of our hopes to a distant future. The check is temporary. Courage and sane statesmanship in our leaders is all that is wanted to restore the courage and the confidence of the

people and evolve new methods of organisation which will not come into conflict even with the repressive laws.

The policy of passive resistance was evolved partly as the necessary complement of self-help, partly as a means of putting pressure on the Government. The essence of this policy is the refusal of co-operation so long as we are not admitted to a substantial share and an effective control in legislation, finance and administration. Just as "No representation, no taxation" was the watchword of American constitutional agitation in the eighteenth century, so "No control, no co-operation" should be the watchword of our lawful agitation—for constitution we have none,—in the twentieth. We sum up this refusal of co-operation in the convenient word "Boycott", refusal of co-operation in the industrial exploitation of our country,

in education, in government, in judicial administration, in the details of official intercourse. Necessarily, we have not made that refusal of co-operation complete and uncompromising, but we hold it as a method to be enlarged and pushed farther according as the necessity for moral pressure becomes greater and more urgent. This is one aspect of the policy. Another is the necessity of boycott to help our own nascent energies in the field of self-help. Boycott of foreign goods is a necessary condition for the encouragement of Swadeshi industries, boycott of Government schools is a necessary condition for the growth of national education, boycott of British courts is a necessary condition for the spread of arbitration. The only question is the extent and conditions of the boycott and that must be determined by the circumstances of the particular problem in each

case. The general spirit of passive resistance has first to be raised, afterwards it can be organised, regulated and, where necessary, limited.

The first obstacle to our evolution is the internal dispute which has for the moment wrecked the Congress and left in its place the hollow and mutilated simulacrum of a National Assembly which met last year at Madras and, deprived though it is of the support of the most eminent local leaders, purposes to meet again at Lahore. It is a grievous error to suppose that this dispute hung only on personal questions and differences of a trifling importance. As happens inevitably in such popular contests, personal questions and differences of minor importance intervened to perplex and embitter the strife, but the real questions in debate were those which involved the whole future development of the spirit

and form of self-government in this country. Were that spirit and form to be democratic or oligarchic? Were they to be constitutional in procedure of governed by arbitrary and individual choice and discretion? Was the movement to be progressive and national or conservative and parochial in its aims, policy and spirit? These were the real issues. The Nationalist party stood for democracy, constitutionalism and progress. The Moderate party, governed by an exaggerated respect for old and esteemed leaders, helped, without clearly understanding what they did, those who stood for oligarchy, arbitrary procedure and an almost reactionary conservatism. Personal idiosyncracies, preferences, aversions settled like a thick cloud over the contest, the combatants on both sides flung themselves on every point of difference material or immaterial as a pretext

or a weapon, the tactics of party warfare were freely used and, finally, the deliberate obstinacy of a few Moderate leaders in avoiding discussion of the points of difference and the unruly ardour of the younger men on both sides led to the violent scenes at Surat and the break-up of the Congress. If the question is ever to be setteld to the advantage of national progress, the personal and minor differences must be banished from the field and the real issues plainly and dispassionately considered.

The questions of particular importance which divide the parties, are the exact form of Swaraj to be held forward as an ideal, the policy of passive resistance and the form of certain resolutions. The last is a question to be decided by the congress itself and all that the Nationalists demand is that discussion shall not be burked and that they shall

not be debarred from their constitutional right of placing their views before the National Assembly. On the other points, they cannot sacrifice their ideal or their policy, but their contention is that these differences ought not in a free deliberative assembly to stand in the way of united progress. The Swaraj matter can easily be settled by the substitution of "full and complete self-government" for "self-government on Colonial lines" in the Swaraj resolution. The difference as to passive resistance hinges at present on the Boycott resolution which the Nationalist party—and in this they are supported by a large body of Moderate opinion,—cannot consent to sacrifice. But here also they are willing to submit the question to the arbitrament of a freely-elected Congress, though they refuse to recognize a close and limited Subjects Committee as the final authority.

It will be seen therefore that the real question throughout is constitutional. The body which at present calls itself the Congress, has adopted a constitution which is close, exclusive, undemocratic and so framed as to limit the free election of delegates by the people. It limits itself by proposing a number of articles of faith in a particular form of words to every intending delegate before he can take his seat ; it aims at the election of delegates only by select bodies and associations instead of the direct election of the people ; it excuses many from the chances of election and gives them an undue weight in the disposal of the affairs of the assembly. These and similar provisions no democratic party can accept. A Nationalist Conference or a Moderate Convention may so guard its integrity, but the Congress is and must be a National Assembly admitting freely

all who are duly elected by the people. The proposed passing of this reactionary constitution by a body already limited under its provisions will not cure the constitutional defect. It is only a Congress elected on the old lines that can determine the future provisions for its constitution and procedure with any hope of universal acceptance.

It is not therefore by any manipulation of the Convention Congress that a solution of the problem can be brought about, but by the Provincial Conferences empowering the leaders of both parties to meet in Committee and provide for an arrangement which will heal differences and enable the Congress to work smoothly and freely in the future. If there is a minority who refuse to associate themselves with any such attempt, the majority will be justified by the mandate of the Provinces in disregarding

them and meeting to carry out the popular wish. Once the lines are settled they can be submitted to the free choice of a freely-elected Congress for acceptance, rejection or modification. This will restore a Congress on sound constitutional lines in which the bitter experience of the past may be relied on to prevent those mistakes of obstinacy and passion which prevented a solution of the problem at Surat.

Outside the Congress the chances of united working are more complete than within it. There are only two questions which are likely either to trouble harmony or hamper action. The first is the question of the acceptance or rejection of the present reforms introducing, as they do, no element of popular control nor any fresh constitutional principle except the unsound principle of privileged representation for a single community. This

involves the wider question of co-operation. It is generally supposed that the Nationalist party is committed to the persistent and uncompromising refusal of co-operation until they get the full concession of Swaraj. Nationalist publicists have not cared to combat this error explicitly because they were more anxious to get their ideal accepted and the spirit of passive resistance and complete self-help popularized than to discuss a question which was not then a part of practical politics. But it is obvious that a party advancing such a proposition would be a party of doctrinaires and idealists, not of practical thinkers and workers. The Nationalist principle is the principle of "No control, no co-operation." Since all control has been refused and so long as all control is refused, the Nationalist party preaches the refusal of co-operation as complete as

we can make it. But it is evident that if, for instance, the power of imposing protective duties were given to a popular and elective body, no serious poltical party would prefer persistence in commercial boycott to the use of the powers conceded. Or if education were similarly made free of official control and entrusted to a popular body, as Lord Reay once thought of entrusting it, no sensible politician would ask the nation to boycott that education. Or if the courts were manned by Indian judges and made responsible not to the Executive but to a Minister representing the people. arbitration would immediately take its place as a supplementary aid to the regular courts. So also the refusal to co-operate in an administration which excludes the people from an effective voice does not involve a refusal to co-operate in an administration of which the people are an effective part. The refusal of auto-

cratic gifts does not involve a refusal to take up popular rights inalienably secured to the people. It is on the contrary with the object of compelling the concession of the various elements of Swaraj by peaceful moral pressure and in the absence of such concessions developing our own institutions to the gradual extrusion and final supplanting of bureaucratic institutions that the policy of self-help and passive resistance was started. This acceptance of popular rights does not imply the abandonment of the ideal of complete autonomy or of the use of passive resistance in case of any future arbitrary interference with the rights of the people. It implies only the use of partial Swaraj as a step and means towards complete Swaraj. Where the Nationalists definitely and decisively part company with an influential section of the Moderates is in refusing to accept any petty or illusory concession

will draw away our aspirations from their unalterable ideal or delude the people into thinking they have secured real rights.

Another question is that of cleaving to and enforcing the Boycott. In Bengal, even if there are some who are timid or reactionary enough to shrink from the word or the thing, the general feeling in its favour is emphatic and practically unanimous. But it is time now to consider seriously the question of regulating the boycott. Nationalists have always demurred to the proviso "as far as possible" in the Swadeshi resolution on account of the large loophole its vagueness left to the hesitating and the lukewarm, and they have preferred the form "at a sacrifice." But it will now be well if we face the concrete problems of the boycott. While we must keep it absolute wherever Swadeshi articles are procurable as also in respect

to pure luxuries with which we can dispense, we must recognize that there are necessities of life and business for which we have still to go to foreign countries. The public ought to be guided as to the choice of the countries which we shall favour in the purchase of these articles,—necessarily they must be countries sympathetic to Indian aspirations,—and those which we shall exclude. The failure to deal with this question is largely responsible for the laxity of our political boycott and our consequent failure to get the Partition rescinded. There are also other questions, such as the attempt of shopkeepers and merchants to pass off foreign goods wholesale as Swadeshi, which must be taken up at once if the movement is not to suffer a serious setback.

A final difficulty remains,— by what organization are we to carry on the movement even when these questions are

settled ? The Nationalist programme was to build up a great deliberative and executive organisation on the basis of a reconstituted Congress, and this scheme still remains the only feasible means of organising the country. Even if an united Congress cannot be secured, the provinces ought to organise themselves separately, and perhaps this may prove to be the only possible way of restoring the Congress, by reconstituting it from the bottom. Even the District organisations, however, cannot work effectively without hands, and these we had provided for in the Sabhas and Samities of young men which sprang up on all sides and were just succeeding in forming an efficient network of organisation all over Bengal. These are now being suppressed by administrative order, it becomes a question whether we cannot replace them by a loose and elusive organisation of

young men in groups ordering each its own work by common agreement and working hand in hand, but without a rigid or definite organisation. I throw out the suggestion for consideration by the leaders of thought and action in the provinces where unity seems at all feasible.

This then is the situation as it presents itself to me. The policy I suggest to the Nationalist party may briefly be summed up as follows :—

1. Persistence with a strict regard to law in a peaceful policy of self-help and passive resistance.

2. The reglution of our attitude towards the Government be the principle of "No control, no co-operation."

3. A rapprochement with the Moderate party wherever possible and the reconstitution of an united Congress.

4. The regulation of the Boycott Movement so as to make both the political and the economic boycott effective.

5. The organisation of the Provinces if not of the whole country according to our original programme.

6. A system of co-operation which will not contravene the law and will yet enable workers to proceed with the work of self-help and national efficiency, if not quite so effectively as before, yet with energy and success.

*July, 1909,*
*Calcutta.*

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

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